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CONTRIBUTORS

The late Reverend Michael Wawryk, O.S.B.M., was a private scholar who worked at St. Josephat's Monastery in Glen Cove, New York.

Volodymyr I. Mezentsev is a research fellow at the Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University.

George Y. Shevelov is professor emeritus of Slavic languages and literatures, Columbia University, New York.

Stanislaw Baranczak is Alfred Jurzykowski Professor of Polish Language and Literature at Harvard University.

Valerie A. Tumins is professor of Russian at the University of California, Davis.

Bohdan A. Struminsky is a research fellow of the Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University.

David A. Miller is professor of history at Roosevelt University, Chicago.

Edward L. Keenan is professor of history at Harvard University.

The Offices of Monastic Initiation in the *Euchologium Sinaiticum* and their Greek Sources*

MICHAEL WAWRYK†

The first edition of the *Euchologium Sinaiticum* (Mt. Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, MS *Slav 37*) was published a little more than a century ago.[1] The importance of this early Glagolitic manuscript was recognized at once, and from that time forward a host of antiquarians, philologists, liturgiologists and linguists have continually stressed its unique importance for their several fields of study.

Unfortunately, the first edition proved to have more than a fair share of flaws, because circumstances had compelled its editor, L. Geitler, to transcribe the manuscript by hand in great haste.[2] The need for a new edition was soon felt, but was satisfied only in 1933–39 by J. Frček and in 1941–42 by R. Nahtigal.[3] The two editions differed somewhat in their

* Father Wawryk's article was originally written in Ukrainian. Its English version underwent several revisions and required consultations with the author, who generously replied to our queries. Death prevented Father Wawryk (he died on 3 March 1984) from answering the final set of questions on the English version as it now stands. We express our gratitude to Professor Robert Mathiesen of Brown University and Dr. Bohdan Struminsky of Harvard University for their help in preparing the revised text. We are also indebted to Paul Hollingsworth and Dr. Donald G. Ostrowski for their help with the Greek and Old Church Slavonic texts. —*The Editors*

[1] L. Geitler, *Euchologium: Glagolski spomenik monastira Sinai-brda*, Djela Jugoslovenske Akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, bk. 2 (Zagreb, 1882).

[2] V. Jagić, review of L. Geitler's edition of *Euchologium* (cf. fn. 1), in *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 7 (1884): 126–33; I. Mansvetov, "Drevnejšij slavjanskij trebnik, izdannyj g. Geitlerom po rukopisi, naxodjaščejsja v Sinajskoj biblioteke," *Pribavlenija k izdaniju tvorenij sv. Otcov v russkom perevode za 1883 god*, pt. 32 (Moscow, 1883), pp. 347–90.

[3] J. Frček, *Euchologium Sinaiticum: Texte slave avec sources grecques et traduction française* (hereafter Frček), pt. 1 in Patrologia Orientalis, vol. 24, fasc. 5 (Paris, 1933), pt. 2 ibid., vol. 25, fasc. 3 (Paris, 1939); J. Frček, "K textové kritice Sinajského euchologia," *Slavia* 18 (1947–1948): 39–46; R. Nahtigal, *Euchologium Sinaiticum: Starocerkvenoslovanski glagolski spomenik* (hereafter Nahtigal), Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti v Ljubljani, Filozofsko-Filološko-Historični Razred, Dela, 2 vols. (Ljubljana, 1941–42; vol. 1—photoprint, vol. 2—Cyrillic transcription and commentary); R. Nahtigal, *Starocerkvenoslovanski euhologij*, Znanstveno društvo v Ljubljani, Razprave, vol. 2 (Ljubljana, 1925), pp. 221–88; I. Ševčenko, "Report on the Glagolitic Fragments (of the *Euchologium Sinaiticum*?) Discovered on Sinai in 1975 and Some Thoughts on the Models for the Make-up of the Earliest Glagolitic Manuscripts," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 6, no. 2 (June 1982): 119–51.

sources and their aims. Frček, who worked from Geitler's text, took pains to establish and to publish the Greek liturgical parallels and sources to the Old Church Slavonic manuscript; in doing so, he drew not only on a large fraction of the Greek materials already published by liturgiologists, but also on the rich collection of Greek manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale of Paris. Nahtigal, in contrast, was able to secure photographs of the entire manuscript and was primarily interested in publishing a highly accurate transcription of it. He did not neglect the question of its sources, but commented on them only briefly in the notes to his edition. Only the first volume of Frček's edition was available to Nahtigal while he was preparing his own; on the other hand, he was able to draw on certain published sources which Frček did not use. Thus the two editions supplement one another, and must both be consulted by any scholar working on the manuscript.

When first written, the *Euchologium Sinaiticum* (hereafter referred to as *ES*) must have been an imposing manuscript. Its parchment is fine, its Glagolitic script careful and legible. The 106 folia that remain are less than half of the original total: 19 quires (ca. 152 fol.) have been lost from the beginning of the manuscript, 2 more quires (16 fol.?) from its middle, and an unknown number of quires from its end. Even in its present fragmentary state, the *ES* is much richer in content, as well as several centuries older, than any other early Slavonic manuscript of the *euchologium* (*trebnik*), and there are few Greek *euchologia* which are much older than it.

Philologists from Geitler's time up to the present have repeatedly noted that the *ES* contains at least two different historical layers of translations into Church Slavonic: some of the texts in the manuscript exhibit words and forms typical only of the very earliest translations (and the oldest manuscripts in which they are preserved), while others show the characteristics of later translations. Most likely, some components of the *Euchologium Sinaiticum* are copies of Cyrillo-Methodian texts, translated in Great Moravia or Pannonia, while other components are later, and were translated in Bulgaria or Macedonia.[4] In its present form, one text seems to have descended from a protograph written during the years 980–987.[5] The extant manuscript was probably copied in the eleventh century, or even the early

[4] Geitler, pp. x–xi; V. Jagić, *Entstehungsgeschichte der kirchenslavischen Sprache* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 251–57.

[5] N. S. Deržavin, "Euchologium Sinaiticum: K voprosu o vremeni proisxoždenija pamjatnika," in his *Sbornik statej i issledovanij v oblasti slavjanskoj filologii* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1941), pp. 215–31.

twelfth.[6] It must be regarded as a compilation from a number of liturgical sources, translated or revised at different times and places.[7]

What is most needed now are detailed studies of the several components of the *ES*—the individual offices and prayers—against the background of the Greek manuscripts closest to it both chronologically and textually. Only on the basis of such studies can one ever hope to settle the controversies which still remain unsettled concerning the origins of the Slavonic liturgy. Such considerations have led scholars to study the great Office of Spiritual Brotherhood (fol. 9^a–11^b of the manuscript) and Confession (fol. 66^b–80^a), and, to a lesser degree, the greatest office of the *ES*, the Monastic Initiation (fol. 80^b–102^a, 105^b–106^b).[8] The present article is a contribution to this effort, and supplements the author's study entitled *Initiatio monastica in liturgia byzantina*, where the *ES* was mentioned only in passing.[9]

I

There are three grades (and corresponding offices) of monastic initiation in the Greek and old Slavonic church: the *rasophoratus*; the little, or first, habit (*mikron/prōton schēma*); and the great, or angelic, habit (*mega/angelikon schēma*). The liturgiologists J. Goar, A. Dmitrievskij, and N. Pal'mov have published texts of these offices from a number of the most ancient Greek *euchologia* now extant, including the Barberini *Euchologium* (Rome, Vatican Library, *Barberinianus Graecus 336*, saec. VIII), the Sevast'janov *Euchologium* (Moscow, Lenin Library, MS *Rumjancev*

6 F. Sławski, "Modlitewnik Synajski," *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, vol. 3 (Wrocław, 1967), p. 272.

7 The importance of the *ES* has been well stated by A. Dostál: "I came to the conclusion that the *Euchologium* is a highly important document for Slavic philology. Some parts reveal a very ancient vocabulary which may go back to the Cyrillo-Methodian period. Other parts are of much later date. The analysis of the *Euchologium* has only just begun. I am convinced that the key to the solution of the problems connected with the introduction of the Slavonic liturgy lies within this analysis, not in that of the other documents.... Even the translation of the liturgical texts is more than just a translation. We detect many passages in these texts which show that their authors adapted the Greek originals to the new environment in which they worked and to the spirit of the Slavonic language. This is particular evident in the *Euchologium*..." (A. Dostál, "The Origins of the Slavonic Literature," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (hereafter *DOP*), 19 [1965]: 80–81; also cf. his "L'Eucologe Slave du Sinai," *Byzantion* 36, no. 1 [1966]: 41–46; "Počátky staroslovanského písemnictví a Byzance," *Slavia* 38, no. 4 [1969]: 597–606; and "The Byzantine Tradition in the Slavonic Literature," *Cyrillo-Methodianum* 2 [1972–73]: 1–6).

8 Frček, pt. 2, pp. 526–601; and Nahtigal, vol. 2, pp. 245–335.

9 M. Wawryk, *Initiatio monastica in liturgia byzantina: Officiorum schematis monastici magni et parvi necnon rasophoratus exordia et evolutio* (hereafter Wawryk), Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 180 (Rome, 1968), pp. 123, 128, 134–35, 143, 156, 182, 194, 255.

Graecus 474/ Sevast'janov 15, saec. X–XI), and many others.[10] Unfortunately, neither Frček nor Nahtigal knew of Pal'mov's work, where Greek parallels to a number of the prayers and the catecheses in the Office of the Great Habit in the *ES* were published from the early *schēmatologion* at Moscow (State Historical Museum, MS *Synodal Library Graecus 396*, saec. XIII). The present author, too, has found and published a series of parallel texts in the appendix to his *Initiatio monastica*. All of this material warrants the following conclusions:

(1) Greek manuscripts from before the fourteenth century contain not only the Office of a single Little Habit, but also its two-part equivalent, the Office of the *Proschēma* and that of the *Pallion*, or (Little) *Mantion*—or at least one of the two.

(2) Even the oldest *euchologia* from the eighth through the twelfth century have three Offices of the Great Habit. The first of them, hitherto known only in incomplete form from the Barberini *Euchologium*, was published in full in the appendix to our above-mentioned study on the basis of three manuscripts (Grottaferrata, MS *Graecus* Γ.B. *VII*, saec. IX–X, and Γ.B. *V*. anno 1019; Vatican Library, MS *Graecus 1836*, saec. XI–XII). The second Office of the Great Habit, hitherto unpublished, is entirely different, with a great abundance of hymns and prayers. It is found in four manuscripts (Grottaferrata, MS *Graecus* Γ.B. *XLIII*, saec. XI; Messina, University Library, MS *Graecus 172*, a. 1148–1149; Uppsala, MS *Graecus 7*, saec. XI–XII; Vatican, MS *Graecus 1969*, saec. XII). The third Office is a shortened redaction of the second, and is found in the Sevast'janov *Euchologium* as well as three other manuscripts (Grottaferrata, MS *Graecus* Γ.B. *I*, saec. XI–XII [Cardinal Bessarion's *Euchologium*]; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS *Coislin Graecus 213*, a. 1027; Vatican, MS *Graecus 1970*, saec. XII [the Rossano *Euchologium*]). The Office now used in the Greek and Eastern rite Slavic churches, and found in their modern printed *euchologia*, is a later form of the third Office.

(3) As early as the tenth century, some *euchologia* have mixed offices, in which texts from one office have been added to another office, and also variations in the choice of accompanying Offices of the Little Habit or those for Removing the Cowl (*apokukulismos*). Clearly, individual manuscripts of the Office of the Little and the Great Habit showed much variation in the

[10] J. Goar, Εὐχολόγιον, *sive Rituale Graecorum* (hereafter Goar) (Paris, 1647); 2nd ed. (Venice, 1730), pp. 379–80, 382, 389–93, 400–401, 419–20; A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskix rukopisej, xranjaščixsja v bibliotekax pravoslavnogo Vostoka*, vol. 2; Εὐχολόγια (hereafter Dmitrievskij) (Kiev, 1901); N. Pal'mov, *Postriženie v monašestvo: Činy postriženija v monašestvo v grečeskoj cerkvi: Istoriko-arxeologičeskoe issledovanie* (hereafter Pal'mov) (Kiev, 1914) (including the appendix, pp. 1–70).

centuries when the Greek and Slavonic liturgical books were gradually assuming their present shape.[11]

II

After these preliminary considerations we turn to the analysis of the prayers and ceremonies of the offices of both Habits in the *ES*, texts which we shall compare with the Greek *euchologia* and *schēmatologia* of the eighth through the twelfth century. Already the first of the four prayers placed before the Office of the Great Habit (fol. 80^b-81^b) displays the striking subtitle: "Prayer of the Little Habit for a monk" (*Molitva malaago ōbraza čr̥ncju*). It starts with: "O Lord, our God, who hast legislated who is worthy of Thee" (*Gī Bže našъ, vъzakonei dostoinyję sebě sǫštę*). We have here the most ancient example of the Slavonic rite of the Little Habit, that is, the first Slavonic use of the prayer of the Little Habit which accompanies the investiture of the monastic habit in the earliest Greek *euchologia*—the Barberini *Euchologium*, the Leningrad *Euchologium* (State Public Library, MS *Graecus 226*, saec. X) and one of the oldest Grottaferrata *euchologia* (Γ.Β. *IV*, saec. XI).[12]

My previous research has traced the distinction between the Little and Great monastic Habits back to the first half of the eighth century and localized it in the famous Laura of St. Sabbas near Jerusalem.[13] In the Barberini *Euchologium* the Little Habit already has a brief office of its own.[14] This distinction was accepted in Constantinople, although the greatest champion of Byzantine monasticism at the time, St. Theodore the Studite (d. 826), opposed it.[15] It is possible that the custom of receiving the Little Habit before the reception of the Great Habit caught on among Slavs already in Cyrillo-Methodian times, as D. Glumac recently noted, interpreting the *Life* of St. Constantine-Cyril.[16] Chapter IV of the *Life* describes the young saint's stay in Constantinople while still a student. "He was thinking how, by changing what is earthly into what is heavenly, to fly out from this body

11 Wawryk, pp. 5–39, 68–103, 140–45.

12 Wawryk, pp. 107—108.

13 Wawryk, pp. 81–83.

14 Goar, pp. 390–93; Wawryk, pp. 108–118.

15 Wawryk, pp. 78–80.

16 D. Glumac, "O vremenu monašenja Konstantina Solunskog i rukopoloženju Metodija za sveštenika," *Zbornik filozofskog fakulteta beogradskog sveučilišta* 12, no. 2 (1974): 227–48 (hereafter Glumac).

and to live with God."[17] Approximately in 849 he made the acquaintance of Theoktistos, the logothete of Empress Theodora. In order to keep Constantine at the court Theoktistos gave the following counsel to the empress (since the place which interests us differs in both basic groups of the *Life* of Constantine, East Slavic and South Slavic, I am reproducing the two variants of the crucial passage): "'This young philosopher loves not this world. Let us not allow him to leave the community [?] but rather tonsure him for priesthood and give him an office (*postrigše i na popovьstvo vъdadimь emou sloužьbou*; so the East Slavic group) [or: let us tonsure him <and> send him off to be a priest and <have an> office; *postrigъše ego(i) ōtdádimь na popóvъstvo i sloužbou*]; let him be a librarian at the Patriarch's in St. Sophia, so that we will keep him at least in this way.' And this is what they did with him."[18] The overall interpretation depends on which group of the manuscripts (both being roughly of the same date, the fifteenth century or later) we take as our guide. Searching the Greek and Slavonic Lives of the holy monks of the eighth to fourteenth century for his study on the Little Habit, this author quoted the above account of the *Life* of Constantine, which some earlier scholars (I. Ginzel, F. Rački) interpreted as referring to the monastic tonsure, on the basis of the South Slavic group of texts. But later scholars tended to see in this passage a reference to clerical tonsure, which the Trullan Council of 691 (canon 33) and the Ecumenical Council of 787 (canon 14) decreed for those who intended to receive the priesthood.[19] The crucial part of this passage is translated as *tondeamus eum ad presbyterium*[20] by one of the finest experts on SS. Cyril and Methodius, F. Grivec. In his edition of the *Life* of Constantine-Cyril, Grivec relies on a late text of the South Slavic group; Grivec's rendering, however, is closer to the reading of the East Slavic group of manuscripts. On the other hand, in his commentary to chapter 18 of the *Life*, on the saint's receiving the Great Habit just prior to his death in Rome (869), Grivec suggests that on the previous day Constantine might have received the Little Habit, as probably

[17] P. A. Lavrov, *Materialy po istorii vozniknovenija drevnejšej slavjanskoj pis'mennosti* (hereafter Lavrov), Trudy Slavjanskoj kommissii Akademii nauk SSSR, 1 (Leningrad, 1930), pp. 4–5, 42; F. Grivec and F. Tomšič, *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses: Fontes* (hereafter GrivecTomšič), Radovi Staroslovenskog Instituta, 4 (Zagreb, 1960), p. 99.

[18] Lavrov, pp. 5, 43: GrivecTomšič, p. 100.

[19] M. Milasch, *Das Kirchenrecht der morgenländischen Kirche* (Mostar, 1905), pp. 270–271.

[20] GrivecTomšič, p. 176. In another work, on the other hand, Grivec explains that Constantine, who later left Byzantium and joined his brother Methodius on Mount Olympus (*Life*, chap. VII) was only there as oblate ("als eine Art Oblate") (F. Grivec, *Konstantin und Method, Lehrer der Slaven* [Wiesbaden, 1961], p. 43). Also see F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions Among the Slavs* (New Brunswick, 1970), pp. 414–15.

indicated by the somewhat ambiguous passage: "Once . . . he saw a divine vision and began to chant thus: 'When they said unto me, Let us go into the house of the Lord, my spirit rejoiced and my heart exulted' [cf. Psalm 121/122/: 1]. He put on (his) venerable garments [*čestnyę svoę rizy* in the East Slavic manuscripts; *čsĭnye rízy* in the South Slavic], and so <attired>, he spent (that) whole day rejoicing and saying: "From now on, I am no servant either to the emperor or to anybody else on earth but only to God the Almighty; I was not, and I came to be [*ne běxъ, i byxъ* in South Slavic manuscripts; in East Slavic, with less sense, *i běxъ*], and I am forever, Amen. And the next day he put on the holy monastic habit [*svętyi inóčьskyi* <*černečьskïj, mnĭšeskyi*> *obrázъ* in East Slavic manuscripts, *sĭyi mnišьskyi óbrazъ* in South Slavic] and, having received light <in addition> to light, he took the name of Cyril.''[21] In the author's *Initiatio monastica* it was merely noted that some scholars saw in chapter 18 of Constantine's *Life* an allusion to the Little Habit, prior to the Great Habit, which he took on the following day.[22] But the new points made by Glumac seem more convincing now: according to him, St. Cyril already in his youth, before priestly ordination, had received the Little Habit, for it is illogical that at the end of his life he should have received at once the Little and Great Habit.[23] This assumption also helps to explain why, after the saint's death, his brother, Methodius, a monk, was talking of himself and his dead brother as candidates for monastic life since their young years. Responding to Pope Hadrian I's proposal to have Cyril buried next to the tomb of St. Peter, Methodius replied: "[Our] mother adjured to us that whichever from the two of us [in South Slavic manuscripts: from us] should go to Judgment first [in South Slavic: pass away first], [the surviving brother] should take him to his, brother's, monastery and bury him there.''[24] Glumac may also be right in assuming that St. Cyril may have received the name Constantine at the *mikron schēma*.[25]

A second document regarding the same ninth century testifies to the practice of investiture with the Little Habit outside of Constantinople, in the area loosely called Mount Olympus in Asia Minor, where, incidentally, St.

21 Lavrov, pp. 34–35, 65; Grivec–Tomšič, pp. 140, 210–11.

22 Wawryk, pp. 84–85, fn. 26.

23 Glumac, p. 232.

24 Lavrov, pp. 35–36, 66; GrivecTomšič, p. 141.

25 Glumac, pp. 230–231. Before Glumac, A. Milev ("Dva latinski izvora za života i deloto na Kiril Filosof," *Konstantin-Kiril Filosof. Sbornik* [Sofia, 1969], p. 199) stated that Constantine was already a monk and priest during his stay in Constantinople, and only prior to his death professed a solemn monastic vow. But Milev did not take note of the relevant places in the *Life* of Constantine.

Methodius's monastery was situated.[26] The *Life* of St. Euthymius the Younger (823–898)[27] says that in 841 he was admitted to the monastery of Antidion and that in the succeeding year he received the monastic *proschēma*, with the name of Euthymius in place of his baptismal name Nicetas; only in 858–859 did he receive the Great Habit. Thus the Office of the Little Habit in the *ES* can be traced back to the liturgical usages of Cyril's and Methodius's time.

When we subject that office to a more detailed analysis, we find that it has been composed from the earlier offices, that of the *Pallion* and that of the *Proschēma* as found in some of the early Greek *euchologia*. This had not been noted by researchers of the monastic institutions of the Byzantine church before the present author found its first trace in the *Life* of St. Lazarus the Stylite of Galesion in Asia Minor (968–1054). That saint received his first habit and the name Lazarus in one of the local monasteries; later he went to the Laura of St. Sabbas near Jerusalem, where the superior made him an "*apostolikos* and *megaloschēma*." Concerning the monastic habit, Lazarus gave this response to a question by some of the brethren: "There truly exists one habit, although some allotted two ranks to it. The fact that we now divide it into three ranks is due in the first place to the flabbiness and ineptitude of the present generation. Still, it happens not altogether without rhyme or reason; it is apt to reflect a greater and loftier model. For this division seems to represent, in a way, the ranking of the following orders, that is, martyrs, apostles, and angels. Therefore the one who has duly observed the rank of the first habit will be included into the choirs of martyrs, the one who has observed the second one—into those of apostles, and the one who has observed the third one—to those of angels. And this is apparent from the terms themselves [!] for we are wont to speak of the angelic and apostolic habit and of the 'raiment of obedience' (ὑποταγῆς ἔνδυμα), which is martyrdom."[28] We can deduce from this testimony that before St. Lazarus the Stylite, probably even in the ninth century, and possibly in the very Laura of St. Sabbas where the first manifestations of the Little Habit occurred in the eighth century, an additional, lowest rank or grade (Martyr's, i.e., novice's grade) was added to the earlier two grades, the Apostolic and Angelic. One can assume that this lowest grade

26 F. Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (Prague, 1933), pp. 210–11. Cf. also C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, "Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara," *DOP* 27 (1973): especially 259–70

27 I. Petit, "Vie et Office de S. Euthyme le Jeune," *Revue d'Orient Chrétien* 8 (1903): 175, 180; Wawryk, p. 84.

28 *Bollandi Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, vol. 63, pt. 3 (Brussels, 1910), pp. 512–15, 547; Wawryk, pp. 93–96.

became part of the Little Habit, its first grade.

It seems that the *ES* has preserved a trace of the same division of the Little Habit into two grades in the prayers placed before the Office of the Little Habit.[29] There are four prayers on fol. 80^{b}–81^{b} of *ES* of which two seem to belong to the first grade of the Little Habit and the other two—to the second.

There is some confusion in the first pair of *ES*'s prayers. There they are entitled: "Prayer over him who wanteth to receive the monastic habit. Prayers of the Little Habit for a monk" and "Prayer over him who wanteth to receive the monastic habit," respectively. In fact, the second of those prayers is for nuns but has a mistakenly worded title, *mo*^{l} *na*^{d} *xotęštiimь prijęti obrazъ edinačьnъi* (instead of *xotęštejǫ* 'her who wanteth'), obviously by a mechanical partial repetition of the first title. The correct feminine form of the title can be found in Greek models, as in the one indicated just below.

What is important is that the four prayers of the *ES* are found in the same order in the two *euchologia*, Grottaferrata Γ. B. *I* and Paris, *Coislin 213*, of the eleventh to twelfth centuries, which preserve the oldest twofold services of the Little Habit—the Office of the *Pallion* (*Mantion*) and that of the *Proschēma*:[30]

ES. fol. 80^{b}–81^{b} fol.	Grottaferrata Γ.B. *I*, fol. 139^{r}–140^{r}
(1) МО^{л} НА^{д} хотѧщиимь приѩти ωбраꙁъ мьнишъскꙑ. Молитва малаго ωбраꙁа чрънцю	ΕΥΧΗ ἐπὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος λαμβάνειν μαντίον·
Гї б҃же нашъ, въꙁаконєи достоиныѩ сєбѣ сѫщѧ	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἀξίους σου εἶναι νομοθετήσας
PRAYER over him who wanteth to receive the monastic habit. Prayer of the Little Habit for a Monk.	PRAYER over him who intendeth to receive the pallium.

[29] Wawryk, p. *194*.
[30] Wawryk, pp. 191–94. The following synopsis of Slavonic and Greek titles is based on Frček, pt. 2, pp. 526–30.

O Lord, our God, who hast legislated who are worthy of Thee	O Lord, our God, who hast legislated who are worthy of Thee
(2) МО[л] НА[д] хотѧщиімь [read: хотѧщеѩ] приѩти образъ единачьнъи.	ΕΥΧΗ ἐπὶ τῆς μελλούσης λαμβάνειν σχῆμα μοναζούσης.
Гı Бж҃е нашъ възлюблеи тако дѣвъство	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τὴν παρθενίαν οὕτως ἀγαπήσας
PRAYER over him [read: her] who wanteth to receive the monastic habit. O Lord, our God, who hast so loved virginity	PRAYER over her who intendeth to receive nun's habit. O Lord, our God, who hast so loved virginity
(3) ЧИ[н] слоужєнью ѡбраза чрънечьска.	ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΙΑ τοῦ προσχήματος τῶν μοναχῶν.
Хвалимъ тѧ, Гı ми[р] вс[м]ѣ гла[в] на[ш]	Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι, Κύριε Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν Τὰς κεφαλὰς ἡμῶν
RITUAL for the service of the monastic habit. We praise Thee, O Lord Peace to all our heads	RITUAL of the first monastic habit. We praise Thee, O Lord Peace to all our heads
(4) Гı Бж҃е сп҃ниѣ нашего	Κύριε, ὁ Θεός τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν
O Lord, God of our salvation	O Lord, God of our salvation

In original Greek texts the first of these prayers of the *ES* is more accurately assigned to the ceremony for a monk who has to receive the Little Mantion.[31] But *Coislin 213* has developed it into a real liturgical service, for to the afore-mentioned prayer a second one is added: "O Lord, our God,

[31] *Mantion*, viz. "little mantle," was also called *pallion* (Wawryk, p. 192, fn. 17).

the hope'' (Κύριε ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν, ἡ ἐλπὶς), with the ceremony of the tonsure and the presentation of the *pallion* to the monk with the priest's words: ''Our brother. . .receiveth the pallium as the surety of the great and angelic habit'' (ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν. . .λαμβάνει τὸ παλλίον τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος).[32] The following ''Ritual for the service of the monastic habit'' (the third prayer in the *ES*) is nothing else but the ''Ritual of the first monastic habit'' of these Greek *euchologia*. After the preliminary questions and responses of the new monk concerning his voluntary acceptance of the monastic renunciation, comes the prayer: ''We thank Thee, O Lord,'' and after the invocation, ''Peace to all'' and ''Let us bow our heads to the Lord'' (Τὰς κεφαλὰς ἡμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ κλίνωμεν), another prayer: ''O Lord, Lord, the force of our salvation'' (Κύριε, Κύριε, ἡ δύναμις τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν).[33] This last prayer is replaced in the *ES* by a related if somewhat different prayer. Thus the *ES* presents a two-stage Little Habit ceremony (*mantion-pallion* and then the first habit, or *proschēma*) in its earlier form, a form less developed than that found in the Grottaferrata Γ. Β. *I* and *Coislin 213*.

A closer look at the Slavonic and Greek texts of the four prayers reveals that the first Slavonic prayer lacks the ending: ὑπομονὴν αὐτῷ δωρούμενος πρὸς τὸ εὐαρεστεῖν σου διὰ παντὸς πρεσβείαις τῆς Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς Θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων ἁγίων τῶν ἀπ'αἰῶνός σοι εὐαρεστησάντων (''giving him the perseverance to please Thee throughout through the intercessions of our Lady, the Mother of God, and all the saints who have pleased Thee since the beginning of time''), a fact noticed by Frček.[34] Frček gave the second Greek prayer (that for the investiture of the nun's habit) according to Goar, with the variant Χριστὲ, but he also indicated the original Κύριε, which can be found already in the Barberini *Euchologium*.[35] Frček quotes the Greek equivalent of the third prayer in the *ES* from the modern office of the investiture of the *rason* (cassock) as we read it in the printed *euchologia*, consigning to his footnotes the variants from ancient texts, such as *Coislin 213*.[36]

32 Dmitrievskij, p. 1028.

33 Wawryk, pp. 191–92.

34 Frček, pt. 2, p. 527; Nahtigal, *Starocerkvenoslovanski euhologij*, p. 246; Wawryk, p. 27* (asterisk refers to pagination of document) (Greek text with variants in the *euchologia* of the eighth-twelfth centuries); and Pal'mov, p. 37 (the *ES* text compared with two later Slavonic texts that have the missing final part).

35 Frček, pt. 2, pp. 527–29; Goar, p. 382; Wawryk, pp. 111–12* (Greek text with variants from the eighth to twelfth century).

36 Frček, pt. 2, p. 529; Goar, p. 378; Wawryk, p. 54* (Greek texts with variants from the eleventh to twelfth century).

The fourth prayer in the *ES* is a shortened version of the prayer from the Office of the Great Habit (Frček adduced the Greek equivalent from Bessarion's *Euchologium*).[37] However, one should also adduce that the Greek prayer for the Little Habit, such as we read it in Grottaferrata MS Γ. B. *XLIII*, has a different beginning but is closer to the *ES* in its final part. In the collation below the *ES* text is compared with both Bessarion's *Euchologium* (Grottaferrata Γ. B. *I*) and the *schēmatologion* from Grottaferrata MS Γ. B. *XLIII*:

ES fol. 81b, Nahtigal, pp. 249–50	Γ.B. *I*, Frček 531	Γ.B. *XLIII*, fol. 6b–7a, Wawryk, pp. 46*
Г҃ı б҃же сп҃ниѣ нашего.	Κύριε ὁ Θεός τῆς	Κύριε, Κύριε, ἡ δύναμις
	σωτηρίας ἡμῶν	τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν,
блг҃ви сего. в͡сѣмь	ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν	ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν
блв҃ениемь дх҃овьнымь.	πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ	πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ
	πνευματικῇ	πνευματικῇ
	ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις	ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις
	ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ	ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ
	τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν,	τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν,
	εὐλόγησον τὸν	εὐλόγησον τὸν
	δοῦλον σου τὸν δεῖνα	δοῦλον σου τὸνδε
	καὶ φύλαξον αὐτὸν	καὶ φύλαξον αὐτὸν
Въ ӡаконѣ твоѥмь.	ἐν τῷ νόμῳ σου,	ἐν τῷ νόμῳ σου,
Дажди ѥмоу нѥ въ тъщѥ	χάρισαι αὐτῷ μὴ εἰς	χάρισαι αὐτῷ μὴ εἰς
тищи. нъ въ истинѫ	κενὸν τρέχειν ἀλλ᾽	κενὸν τρέχειν, ἀλλ᾽
	ἐν ἀληθείᾳ,	ἐν ἀληθείᾳ
бѣгати. В͡сѣкоѩ ӡълобы.	φυγεῖν πᾶσαν	φεύγειν πᾶσαν
	κακίαν καὶ	κακίαν καὶ
И гонити в͡сѣко	μεταδιώκειν	μεταδιώκειν
добродѣаниѥ.	πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν	πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν
съ вѣроѭ. ı любовьѭ.	μετὰ πίστεως,	μετὰ πίστεως καὶ
и оупъваниѥмь.	ἐλπίδος καὶ ἀγάπης	ἐλπίδος καὶ ἀγάπης
приѩти вѣчьны животъ.	εἰς τό ἐπιλαβέσθαι	εἰς τό ἐπιλαβέσθαι
	τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς,	τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς,

37 Frček, pt. 2, p. 531; Goar, p. 393.

καὶ ἀξίωσον αὐτὸν
ἐνδυσάμενον τὸ ἅγιον
σχῆμα τῷ μὲν περιβολαίῳ
τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀντέχεσθαι
τῇ δε ζωῇ τὴν νέκρωσιν
τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὴν
σωφροσύνην ἐν αὐτῷ
περιφέρειν, τῷ δὲ
ἀναλάβῳ τῷ σταυρῷ καὶ
τῇ πίστει κατακοσμεῖσθαι,
etc.

Да достоино живъ.	ἵνα ἀξίως
	πολιτευσάμενος
по ʒаповѣдємь твоимъ.	κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς
Єдиночѧдааго сн҃а твоєго.	τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου
съподобитъ сѧ рѧдоу	Υἱοῦ, καταξιωθῇ
с҃тыхъ твоихъ.	τοῦ κλήρου τῶν ἁγίων
	ἐν τῷ φωτὶ
	τῆς δόξης σου.

It is striking that the Slavonic words *vъ zakoně tvoemь* 'in Thy law' have an exact equivalent in ἐν τῷ νόμῳ σου, of the Greek texts above, and not in ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι σου 'in Thy name', that we read in the *Coislin Euchologium*. The former phrase is also found in two brief versions of this prayer in the "Office of the *proschēma*" in the *schēmatologion* of the University of Messina and in that of Uppsala. They and the Grottaferrata MS Γ.Β. *XLIII* are the best representatives of the second most ancient formulary of the Office of the Great Habit, and demonstrate its influence on the *ES*.

III

We now turn to the Office of the Great Habit in the *ES*, which requires more correction and completion. In contrast to the mere three pages occupied by the ceremony of the Little Habit, the Office of the Great Habit occupies twenty-one folia—fol. $82^{a}-102^{a}$ and, in addition, fol. $105^{b}-106^{b}$, the latter remaining enigmatic to all scholars. At the outset, we may note that, like the double Office of the Little Habit, in its basic structure the *ES*'s imposing Office of the Great Habit is the same as that

given in the *euchologia* of Bessarion and the *Coislin 213*, and also as the office used today.[38] However, in its first part, up to the act of tonsure (fol. 96^a), the Office of the *ES* is greatly expanded in comparison with that presently in use. This was done by adding four catecheses for which Frček was unable to find any Greek sources. In the second part of the Office (fol. 96^b-102^a), the *ES* transposes rubrics and prayers.

Among all known early *euchologia* the *ES* is the only one to put at the *beginning* of the Office of the Great Habit two exhortations which the priest addresses to the abbot (hegumen) and then to the sponsor (*anadochos*, *porǫčьnikъ*)[39] who "receives the hair" of the newly professed brother. This happens after the brethren have gathered in the church for the procession (fol. 82^a-83^a and 83^a-83^b). Such exhortations in the texts of the first and second most ancient formularies of the Office of the Great Habit are placed *after* the procession and after the initial questions and answers concerning the profession, which end with the traditional catecheses to the newly professed monk. In particular, in the formulary (represented in the Grottaferrata MS Γ. B. *VII*) the two exhortations to the hegumen and the sponsor are placed after the third catechesis to the newly professed.[40] And in the most complete text of the second formulary of the Office of the Great Habit (represented by the *schēmatologion* in Grottaferrata MS Γ. B. *XLIII*) the exhortation to the sponsor (πρὸς τὸν ἐγγυητήν) appears only after the second catechesis to the newly professed; and the double exhortation to the hegumen and *anadochos* is to be read before the act of tonsure.[41]

When we compare the two Slavonic exhortations with the Greek ones, the one to the hegumen appears to have been composed on the basis of the second of two such exhortations in the MS Γ. B. *VII* of the *euchologium*, while the exhortation to the sponsor is a translation (with some changes and additions) of the Greek exhortation directed to the sponsor in the *schēmatologion* of the Grottaferrata MS Γ. B. *XLIII*. Our reedition of these Greek exhortations to the hegumen (A) and to the sponsor (B) comprises the openings and answers. As for variant readings, those to the first Greek exhortation have been taken from the *euchologium* in MS Γ. B. *V* and the *schēmatologia* in the Vatican MS *1836* and the Messina MS *172*; those to the second exhortation have been drawn from the Moscow Synod

38 Wawryk, pp. 140–41.

39 For *porǫčьnikъ*, cf. *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského: Lexicon linguae palaeoslovenicae*, fasc. 27 (Prague, 1974), p. 180, which gives only the equivalents ἀντιφωνήτης, ἐγγυητής, sponsor. However, the equivalent ἀνάδοχος is assured by the parallel passages of the Greek *euchologia*.

40 Wawryk, pp. 123; 19–22*.

41 Wawryk, pp. 134; 83–84*, 87–89*.

Schēmatologion 396 and from a Greek manuscript at Kiev (formerly in the Library of the Theological Academy, MS *Graecus 82,* saec. XVI).[42]

A.

ES fol. 82^{a}–83^{a}, Nahtigal, pp. 251–55	Grottaferrata MS Γ. Β. *VII,* fol. 147^{b}–148^{b}, Wawryk, pp. 19–21*
ВЪПРОСЪ ·/.	Ερώτησις[43] πρὸς τὸν ἡγούμενον·
ѣкоже ны єси оубѣдилъ обычаи	
сътворити. Пострѣщи братра	
къ хо҃у пришєдъша.	
можєши ли благодѣтиѭ хво҃ѭ.	Δύνασαι ἀνέχεσθαι[44] τοῦτον
обрѫчити братра. ѣко по ꙁаконоу	τὸν ἀδελφὸν[45]
гн҃ю. на вс҃ѣко благодѣаниє	καὶ ὁδηγῆσαι αὐτὸν
наставити и ·/. и глⷮє игоумєнъ ·/.	πρὸς πᾶσαν εὐθεῖαν ὁδόν;
ѡТЪВѢТЪ ·/. Могѫ поспѣшѫщю	Ἀπόκρισις· Τοῦ Θεοῦ
ми хо҃у ÷	συνεργοῦντος, δύναμαι.
	Ἐρώτησις·[46] Δύνασαι πατρῷα
	καὶ πνευματικὰ σπλά(γ)χνα
	ἐπιδεῖξαι[47] εἰς αὐτόν; Ἀπόκρισις·
	Ναί, τοῦ Θεοῦ συνεργοῦντος·[48]
	Ἐρώτησις·[49] Θαρρεῖς αὐτὸν
	παραστῆσαι ἄμεμπτον
	τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ;
	Ἀπόκρισις·[50] Ἐάνπερ τοῦ λόγου
	μου ἀκούσῃ, δυνατός ἐστιν
	ὁ Θεὸς σῶσαι αὐτόν.[51]

42 Pal'mov, pp. 178–79, and the appendix, p. 47.
43 Omitted in MS *1836.*
44 In MS *1836* ἀναδέξασθαι.
45 In MS *1836*, Γ. Β. *V* and *172* also κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου νόμον (*172* : λόγον), cf. *ES.*
46 Omitted in MS *1836.*
47 In Γ. Β. *V.* and *172* ἐπιδείξασθαι.
48 In Γ. Β. *V* θέλοντος, in *172* βοηθοῦντος·
49 Omitted in *1836.*
50 Omitted in *1836.*
51 In Γ. Β. *V* and *172* ἡμᾶς.

И ГЛЄⷮ ·:· иерѣи. Игоуменоу ÷ Пристѫпи ı слыши. чьто тебѣ гл҃етъ пр҃комь г҃ь. Стража дахъ тѧ с҃не чл҃чь. домоу ил҃евоу. И аще видиши орѫжие градѫще. ти не вьзвѣстиши.	Καὶ λέγει πάλιν πρὸς τὴν ποιμένα.[52] Πρόσελθε λοιπὸν καὶ ἄκουσον τοῦ Κυρίου δἰα τοῦ προφήτου[53] λεγόντος· υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, σκοπὸν τέθηκά σε τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ[54] καὶ ἐὰν ἴδῃς τὴν ῥομφαίαν ἐρχομένην καὶ μὴ ἀναγγείλῃς τῷ λαῷ.[55]
Понеже порѫчаеши сѧ по д҃шѧ людьскыѩ.	
	τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ[56] ἐκ τῆς χειρός[57] σου ἐκζητήσω,[58]
то вь грѣсѣ оного оумьреши[59]	
ѣко пр҃ка бо въ ѩзыцѣхъ положилъ тѧ. ıскоренити. И насадити. Раскопавати. и съзидати. Зьри оу бо даѭщааго тебѣ власть. обладанью.	ὅτι προφήτην τέθηκά σε ἐκριζεῖν καὶ ἐμφυτεύειν,[60] κατασκάπτειν καὶ ἀνοικοδομεῖν.[61] Ὁρᾶτε τοίνυν τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς διδόντα ἐξουσίαν, εἶτα ἐπὶ[62] τῇ ἀμελείᾳ πάλιν ποιμένας ἐπιφέροντα·

52 In *1836* πρὸς ἡγούμενον, in Γ. B. *V* and *172* omitted.

53 In *172* διὰ τοῦ προφήτου omitted.

54 Cf. Ezekiel 33 : 7 : υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, σκοπὸν δέδωκά σε τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραήλ.

55 Cf. Ezekiel 33 : 6 : ἐὰν ἴδῃ τὴν ῥομφαίαν ἐρχομένην καὶ μὴ σημάνῃ (τῷ λαῷ in some codices).

56 In *1836* and Γ. B. *V* αὐτῶν.

57 In *1836* ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν.

58 In *1836* ἀπαιτήσω; cf. Ezekiel 33 : 8 : τὸ δὲ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς χειρός σου ἐκζητήσω·

59 Cf. Ezekiel 33 : 8 : τῇ ἀνομίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανεῖται.

60 In Γ. B. *V* and *172* καταφυτεύειν, omitted in *1836*.

61 Cf. Jeremiah 1 : 10: καθέστακά σε σήμερον ἐπὶ ἔθνη καὶ βασιλείας, ἐκριζοῦν καὶ κατασκάπτειν καὶ ἀπολλύειν καὶ ἀνοικοδομεῖν καὶ καταφυτεύειν.

62 In *1836* omitted up to ποιμένας.

И апостолоу велѧщю ти.	τοῦτο γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ ὁ μακάριος
	ἀπόστολος Πέτρος λέγει·[63]
	ποιμάνατε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν[64]
	ποίμνιον, μὴ ἀναγκαστῶς,
	ἀλλ᾽ ἑκουσίως,
	μηδὲ αἰσχροκερδῶς, μηδὲ ὡς
	κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων,
	ἀλλ᾽ ὡς[65] τύποι γενόμενοι τοῦ
	ποιμνίου·[66] καὶ ὁ μακάριος
	ἀπόστολος Παῦλος[67]
Бдѧщиимъ бо гл҃етъ	αἰνίττεται λέγων.
Повиноуите сѧ игоуменомъу.	πείθεσθε τοῖς ἡγουμένοις
вашимъ. ı покарѣите.	ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπείκετε,[68]
Коє оубо оутвръждениє	
възлагаєтъ. Гь҃ областьно	
пр҃комь рече. Ѡ пастыри.	
Развлачѧщии. и гоубѧщии ов҃цѧ.[69]	
Се нынѣ мъщѭ на васъ.	
И истѧжѭ ов҃цѧ отъ пастырь.[70]	
І ап҃лоу гл҃ѭщю послоушъливомъ.	
вънимати гл҃ѧ.	
ти бо бьдѧтъ о дш҃ахъ вашихъ	αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἀγρυπνοῦσιν ὑπὲρ
рече.	τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν,[71]

63 In *1836* ἔλεγεν.
64 In Γ. B.*V* ἡμῖν.
65 In Γ. B. *V* ἀλλά.
66 Cf. 1 Peter 5 : 2–3: ποιμάνατε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον τοῦ θεοῦ, μὴ ἀναγκαστῶς ἀλλὰ ἑκουσίως κατὰ θεὸν, μηδὲ αἰσχροκερδῶς ἀλλὰ προθύμως, μηδ᾽ὡς κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων ἀλλὰ τύποι γινόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου.
67 Omitted in *1836* and Γ. B. *V*.
68 Hebrews 13 : 17.
69 Jeremiah 23 : 1.
70 Ezekiel 34 : 10.
71 In *1836* ἡμῶν.

Како ти ȥасъвѣдѣтєльствоуєтъ намъ. ıȥвѣстоуıѧ. ѣко слово въȥданью сътворити ıмаши.	ὡς λόγον ἀποδώσοντες.[72]
Вь дєнь страшънааго сѫда ȥа д͞шѫ єго. тако прилєжъно троудисѧ о нємъ. ı обраȥъ бѫди ємоу. Во вс҆ѣко добродѣѣниє.	Βλέπε οὖν, ὡς μέλλων διδόναι λόγον τῷ δικαίῳ κριτῇ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ[73] τῆς κρίσεως ὑπέρ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν, οὕτως ἐπιμελῶς κοπίασον εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ τύπος γενοῦ αὐτῶν ἐν πάσῃ ἀρετῇ·
Въ съмѣрєниє. Въ кротость. Въ моⷧтвѫ. Въ посⷮ. Въ бьдѣниє.	ἐν ἀγάπῃ ⟨τε⟩τελειωμένῃ,[74] ἐν εὐχῇ εὐαρέστῳ, ἐν ἀγρυπνίᾳ,[75] ἐν νηστείᾳ, ἐν ταπεινοφροσύνῃ, ἐν πρᾳότητι, ἐν ἀγογγύστῳ διαγωγῇ, ἵνα φανερωθέντος τοῦ ἀρχιποιμένος Χριστοῦ, καυχήσῃ καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγων·[76] ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ παιδία ἅ μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεός,[77] καὶ ἀπολήψῃ[78] τὸν μισθὸν παρὰ[79] Χριστοῦ, ὡς ἡ μακαριζομένη παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀποστόλου[80] διακόνισσα[81] Φοίβη,[82] ἡ καὶ κληθεῖσα[83] εἰς τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου, ἐν τῷ συνοικεῖν σοι καὶ

72 Hebrews 13 : 17.
73 Added in Γ. Β. *V* τῇ φοβερᾷ.
74 No augment in Γ. Β. *V*.
75 Added in *1836* καὶ.
76 In *172* λέγοντος.
77 Hebrews 2 : 13 (from ἰδοὺ. . .).
78 In Γ. Β. *V* ἀπολίψεις.
79 Γ. Β. *V* adds τοῦ.
80 In *1836* παρὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου; in Γ. Β. *V* Παύλῳ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ; in *172* παρὰ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ.
81 In *1836* and *172* διάκονος.
82 Romans 16 : 1.
83 In Γ. Β. *V* and *172* προκληθεῖσα; in *1836* προλεχθεῖσα.

	κοπιᾶν τὰ λογικά σου ταῦτα πρόβατα καὶ τυπεῖν αὐτὰ ἐν[84] πάσῃ ὁδῷ ἀγαθῇ καὶ πολιτείᾳ ἐναρέτῳ, κατὰ τὸ φάσκον ῥητὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου· τέκνον Τιμόθεε, παρηκολούθηκάς μου τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ, τῇ διαγωγῇ, τῇ προθέσει, τῇ πίστει, τῇ μακροθυμίᾳ, τῇ ἀγάπῃ, τῇ ὑπομονῇ, τοῖς διωγμοῖς, τοῖς παθήμασιν.[85]
Аще бо тако наставиши и. бѫдєтъ ти н҃бо ново. и [ʒє]ʒємⷧ҄ѣ нова. и въсиѥ҆єтъ ти г҃ь правъдоѭ.	ἔστω σοι ὁ οὐρανὸς καινός, ἡ δὲ γῆ καινή,[86] καὶ ἀνατελεῖ σοι[87] κύριος δικαιοσύνην καὶ πλῆθος εἰρήνης καὶ τύχης τοῦ στεφάνου[88] τῆς ἀφθαρσίας
і съ дрьʒновєниємь. Рєчєши вь дєнь онъ. Сє аʒъ и дѣти ѩжє ми єси далъ б҃жє.[89]	
і оуслышиши блажєны єго гласъ. Добры рабє. Благы вѣрьнє. о малѣ бѣ вѣрєнъ. надъ многыми тѧ поставлѭ. Вьниди въ радость г҃а своєго ·/.	καὶ ἀκούσῃς τῆς μακαρίας φωνῆς τῆς λεγούσης· εὖ, δοῦλε ἀγαθὲ καὶ πιστέ, ἐπὶ ὀλίγα ἦς πιστός, ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω, εἴσελθε εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ Κυρίου σου·[90]

84 In Γ. Β. *V* ἐπὶ.
85 Cf. 2 Timothy 3 : 10 – 11 (by apostle Paul): Σὺ δὲ παρηκολούθησάς μου τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ, τῇ ἀγωγῇ, τῇ προθέσει, τῇ πίστει, τῇ μακροθυμίᾳ, τῇ ἀγάπῃ, τῇ ὑπομονῇ, τοῖς διωγμοῖς, τοῖς παθήμασιν. Also *1836* and *172* have ἀγωγῇ; the last word is πάθεσιν in Γ. Β. *V*.
86 Cf. Isaiah 65 : 17: Ἔσται γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς καινὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καινή; καινός καὶ is omitted in *1836*; Γ. Β. *V* and *172* have καὶ ἡ γῆ as in the Septuagint; δὲ is omitted in all variants.
87 *1836* and Γ. Β. *V* add ὁ.
88 In Γ. Β. *V* τοὺς στεφάνους.
89 Cf. Greek above (Hebrews 2 : 13).
90 Matthew 25 : 21.

καὶ τότε χαρίσῃ σὺν αὐτῳ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, μεθ᾽οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ[91] τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι ⟨δόξα καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια καὶ προσκύνησις⟩,[92] νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας[93] τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

B.

ES fol. 83^{a}–83^{b}, Nahtigal, pp. 255–256	Schēmatologion Γ. B. *XLIII*, fol. 62^{b}, Wawryk, pp. 83–84*
И ПО СЄМЬ ГЛЄТЪ ИЄРѢИ ˙/.	Καὶ λέγει ὁ ἱερεὺς
·:· КЪ ПОДЪЄМЛѬЩЮМОУ ВЛⷭА ˙/.	πρὸς τὸν ἐγγυητήν·
ВЪПРⷭО ˙/.	
Можєши ли подъѩти обрѫчєнааго раба гн҃ѣ ˙/. ѡтъвⷮѣ ˙/. могѫ благодѣтиѭ х҃воѭ. **ВЪПРⷭО** ˙/. можєши ли авити оч҃ѭ отробѫ вь нємь ˙/.	*Δύνασαι[94] ἀναδέξασθαι τὸν ἀρραβωνισθέντα[95] δοῦλον τοῦ Χριστοῦ; Καὶ λέγει· Δύναμαι τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ.[96] Καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς λέγει. Δύνασαι ἐπιδεὶξασθαι[97] πατρῷα[98] σπλάγχνα εἰς αὐτόν;
·:· ѡтъвⷮѣ ˙/. Могѫ благодѣтиѭ х҃воѭ ˙/.	Καὶ λέγει· Δύναμαι[99] τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Θεοῦ.
·:· и глⷮє иєрѣи пⷣоємлѭщюмоу влⷭа ˙/.	
Пристѫпи і слыши. чьто тєбѣ г҃ь пр҃комь гл҃єтъ.	Καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς λέγει· Πρόσελθε οὖν[100] καὶ ἄκουσον τοῦ Κυρίου διὰ τοῦ[101]

91 In *1836*, Γ. B. *V* and *172* ἅμα.
92 Inserted in our edition from Γ. B. *V* and *172*.
93 In Γ. B. *V* τὸν αἰῶνα.
94 Kievan MS *82* adds ἀδελφὲ.
95 Muscovite MS *396* adds σοι.
96 MS *82* adds καὶ δι᾽εὐχῶν σου ἁγίων.
97 In MS 396 δεῖξαι.
98 In MS *396* πατρικὰ.
99 In MS *396*: Ναὶ δι᾽εὐχῶν σου, τίμιε πάτερ; in MS *82*: Ναὶ, πάτερ, δι᾽εὐχῶν σου ἁγίων.
100 MS *82* adds ἀδελφὲ.
101 MS *396* omits διὰ τοῦ.

блаженъ іже имѣ сѣмѧ въ сионѣ. і ѫжикы своѩ въ иеⷧмѣ.
глⷭ҇ѧ. ѩже имѣѩ чѧда.

Блаженъ еси ѣко дх҃овъноу чѧдоу оц҃ь достоинъ бысть.

Блюди сѧ оу бо. ѣко отъ олътарѣ гн҃ѣ приемеⷧши и. Прѣдъ видимыми. И невидимыми послоухы. Ави же въ немь оч҃ѭ ѫтробѫ. И ни въ единоже поӡъри его.

нъ и наказаниемь на къждо день оутвръждаѩ его. и тѣлесьнаа трѣбованиѣ обило подаваи. Си бо творѧ многѫ имѣти імаши мъздѫ. Вь дьнь онъ. тѣмьже наречении мы. по отърадѣ б҃жьи недостоинии. молимъ сѧ за игоумена. Прѣемъ–

προφήτου λέγοντος· μακάριος ὅς ἔχει ἐν Σιὼν σπέρμα[102] καὶ οἰκείους[103] ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ.[104]
Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας λέγει·[105] μακάριος οὖν εἶ καὶ σύ, ὅτι πνευματικοῦ τέκνου πατὴρ εἶναι[106] κατηξιώθης.
Βλέπε οὖν,[107] ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ[108] ναοῦ Κυρίου αὐτὸν παραλαμβάνεις ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων μαρτύρων· δεῖξον[109] εἰς αὐτὸν πατρῷα σπλάγχνα, ἐν μηδενὶ τοῦτον[110] παρίδης, ἀλλὰ δόγμασιν εὐσεβείας πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐντολὴν τοῦ[111] Κυρίου τοῦτον[112] καθοδήγει, ὅπως ἀξιωθῇς σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν οὐρανίων[113] ἀγαθῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν,

102 In MS *396* σπέρματα.
103 In MS *82* οἰκεῖον.
104 Isaiah 31 : 9 (variant: Σειὼν).
105 In MS *396* and *82* λέγων.
106 In MS *396* γενέσθαι.
107 MS *82* adds αὐτὸ.
108 Omitted in MS *392* and *82*.
109 MS *396* adds οὖν.
110 In MS *82* αὐτὸν.
112 Omitted in MS *82*.
112 In MS *396* αὐτον.
113 MS *396* and *82* adds τυχεῖν.

шааго братра нашего. і тебѣ
поржчьника ємоу бывањща.
хранити сѧ отъ г̄а въ правѣи
вѣрѣ. Въ съконьчание ʒаповѣдеи
его.

μεθ᾽οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ σὺν τῷ
παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ
σου Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ[114] . . .

Ємоуже слава и честь. і покла–
нѣние. нынѣ и ˙/.

In the first Slavic exhortation, the celebrant's initial question to the abbot is expanded in comparison with the Greek version. It reads: "As thou hast ordered us to practice the custom of tonsuring the brother who came to Christ, canst thou, by the grace of Christ, sponsor the brother so as to direct him, according to the law of the Lord, towards every good deed?" The first part of this question (before *canst*) does not occur in any Greek office of monastic initiation known to me. Consequently, the *ES* may be offering a Slavic innovation (it is also noteworthy that, in contradistinction to Greek parallel texts, it places the exhortation to the hegumen at the very beginning of the Office).

At the end of the second Slavic exhortation, the *ES* adds the priest's prayer for the abbot and for the sponsor, "to be preserved by the Lord in true faith."[115] Is this, too, a Slavic innovation?

After the two exhortations, the *ES* gives three full antiphons to be sung during the procession to the altar (fol. 83^b–86^b). Frček adduced Greek parallels to these antiphons from Goar's printed *euchologium*, with variants from the *Coislin* MS *367* (saec. XIV) but omitted some *troparia*, e.g., the one to the Virgin in the first and second antiphons, and others whose Greek equivalents are listed in Dmitrievskij.[116]

[114] In MS *396* closer to the final sentence in *ES*: μεθ᾽οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ πρέπει δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν etc.; also in MS *82*: ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ προσκύνησις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

[115] There is no parallel to this Slavonic prayer in the Georgian version of the equivalent exhortation in the Office of the Great Habit of St. Euthymius of Athos (d. 1028), preserved in MS *143* of the former Society of National Education in Tbilisi (K. Kekelidze, *Liturgičeskie gruzinskie pamjatniki* [Tiflis, 1908], p. 45).

[116] Dmitrievskij, pp. 1028–30, 1042. For instance, Frček does not mention the Greek *theotokia* of the first and second antiphon or the fourth *troparion* of the third antiphon (cf. Dmitrievskij, p. 1029), and so on.

The questions and answers after the procession correspond accurately to the Greek text of the *Coislin euchologium*, together with the intimation, "Watch, child. . ." (*Bljudi čędo*, Βλέπε, τέκνον, fol. 86b– 87b). What follows these is a lengthy catechesis to the newly professed monk, which is composed of two exhortations: (1) "Here, with the right hand thou givest Him the chastity"(*Se desniceją emou daeši cělomǫdrie*, fol. 87b–89b), and (2) "Understand therefore firmly that from the present day" (*Razouměi že krěpъko otъ nastojęštaago d̅n̅e*, fol. 89b–92a). Frček did not find a Greek parallel to the first exhortation.[117] Yet it can be read in the oldest first formulary of the Office of the Great Habit, preserved in the two Grottaferrata *euchologia* Γ.Β. *VII* and Γ.Β. *V*, and in the *schēmatologion* of the *Vaticanus Graecus* 1836. In the first and the third of these manuscripts this catechesis is followed by the two exhortations (to the hegumen and the *anadochos*) just discussed, and by the catechesis (identical with the modern one) of the Office of the Great Habit. In the second manuscript all three texts appear after those dealing with the tonsure. The Slavic compiler of the *ES*, having transposed the exhortations to the abbot and the sponsor to the beginning of the Office, put the two catecheses for the newly professed next to each other. In any case, he merits credit for having preserved the solemn vow of chastity (*děvъstvo*, παρθενία) and a hymn for that occasion; we find both these texts in the oldest first Greek formulary. The *ES* implies that the newly professed monk listened to the first exhortation on his knees, for towards its end the priest says: "so, rise, o child" (*stani oubo o čędo*, fol. 89b). This is in contrast to the Greek, where the monk is kept standing during both the questions and the catechesis.[118] Here are the Slavic and Greek texts of the Catechesis to the newly-professed:

[117] Frček, pt. 2, p. 545, considered this "une lòngue interpolation sans equivalent dans les textes grecs."

[118] Wawryk, p. 15 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ(ο) ἀνιστᾷ αὐτ(ὸν) καὶ ἐρωτᾷ. 'And with this he raiseth him [from his knees] and asketh'.

ES fol. 87^b-89^b, Nahtigal, pp. 270–77

Се десницеѭ емоу даеши цѣломѫдрие.
Дѣвьства твоего. непорочьнааго
житиѣ. При с҃тыхъ его
изъбраныхъ а҃гл҃ѣхъ. Ходатаиствомь
нашимь грѣшьнымь.
Силы бо н҃бсьныѩ невидимо
прѣстоѩтъ намъ. Прѣⷣемѭще
обѣтование твое. еже къ г҃ю.
Нынѣ веселѧтъ сѧ праведьнии.
нынѣ радоуетъ сѧ ап҃лскы
ликъ. Нынѣ възиграѭтъ сѧ
праведьнъихъ народи. Нынѣ
свѣтъло свьтѧтъ сѧ
прⷣпбьныхъ д҃си. Нынѣ поетъ
пр҃къ д҃дъ вьпиѩ и гл҃ѧ.
ведѫтъ сѧ ц҃ревы дѣвы
вь слѣдъ еѩ. Нынѣ женихъ х҃ъ.

Grottaferrata Euchologium Γ. B. *VII*, fol. 23^b-25^b, Wawryk, pp. 17–19*

Παραίνεσις[119]

Ἰδοὺ δεξιὰς αὐτῷ δίδεις τὴν
σωφροσύνην τῆς παρθενίας σου καὶ
ἀμέμπτου πολιτείας ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων
αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκλεκτῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ τῇ
μεσιτείᾳ ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν.
Δυνάμεις οὐράνιαι νῦν ἀοράτως
παρίστανται ἡμῖν, δεχόμεναί σου
τὰς πρὸς Δεσπότην συνθήκας· νῦν
χαίρουσιν ἄγγελοι, νῦν ἀγάλλονται
δίκαιοι, νῦν εὐφραίνεται[120]
τῶν ἀποστόλων χορός, νὺν σκιρτῶσι τῶν
ἁγίων οἱ δῆμοι, νῦν λαμπρύνονται
τῶν ὁσίων τὰ πνεύματα, νῦν
μελῳδεῖ ὁ προφήτης Δαβὶδ[121]
βοῶν· ἀνεπεχθήσονται τῷ βασιλεῖ
παρθένοι ὀπίσω αὐτῆς[122]

119 In MS Γ. B. *V* καὶ παραινεῖ λέγων.
120 In MS Γ. B. *V* εὐφραίνονται.
121 Γ. B. *V* adds καὶ ἀνακράξει.
122 Psalms 44 : 5.

Двьри нб҃сънааго ц҃рства. Раꙁвръꙁь	οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν ἀναπετάσαι,[123]
твоѥго жидєтъ въхождениѣ.	τὴν σὴν ἐκδέχονται[124] εἴσοδον· νῦν
Нънѣ мы сънѧсомъ сѧ вс҇и	καὶ ἡμεῖς πάντες συνέλθωμεν
въ коупѣ. Видѣти красьнѫѭ	ἐν[125] τῷ αὐτῷ, ἰδεῖν τὴν τερπνὴν
сихъ. і нєистьлѣньныхъ бракъ	τούτον καὶ ἀφθάρτου γάμου
красотѫ. і моусикиискыхъ	τερπνότητα καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς
д҃въ. слышати гѫслєи гл҃ѭщиихъ.	τοῦ Δαβὶδ κιθάρας ἀκοῦσαι λεγουσής·
Юношѧ и Дѣвы и старьци.	νεανίσκοι καὶ παρθένοι,
съ юнотами. Да хвалѧтъ	πρεσβύτεροι μετὰ νεωτέρων
імѧ г҃нє.	αἰνεσάτωσαν τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου.[126]
Вс҇ѣмъ жє намъ вєсєлѧщємс҇ѧ.	Πάντων δὲ ἡμῶν εὐφραινομένων,
Єдинъ плачєт҇сѧ диѣволъ.	μόνος θρηνεῖ ὁ διάβολος, βλέπων σε
Видѧ тѧ бєсплотьныхъ а҃ћлъ	ἐν σώματι ἀσώματον βίον
житиє приємлѭща.	ἀναλαμβάνοντα· ὅθεν καὶ τρίζων
Тѣмьжє и скрєжьщєтъ на	τοὺς ὀδόντας κατὰ σοῦ ἔρχεται,[127]
тѧ ꙁѫбы. ѡбьходитъ наꙁираѩ	ἐπιτηρῶν σου καῖ βλέμμα καὶ λόγον
твоє слово. і движениє. і въꙁьрѣниє.	καὶ κίνημα·
Єстъ бо дръꙁъ. и бєсрама.	ἔστι γὰρ τολμηρὸς καὶ
Ни дѣвъства	ἀναιδής, οὐ παρθενίαν
срамлѩ сѧ.	αἰδούμενος,[128] οὐ σωφροσύνην
ни цѣломѫдриѣ чьты.	τιμῶν, οὐκ εὐσέβειαν φροντίζων,
ни благовѣрниѣ боѩ сѧ. ни	οὐκ ἄλλης τινὸς ἀρετῆς
інѣми єтєры добродѣаньи.	δυσωπούμενος, τρόπους ἐπισείων
оумолєнъ бываѩ. сътрѧсаѩ	καὶ κατακόπτων πειρασμούς,
и съсѣкаѩ. напастьми і	κινδύνους περιβάλλων, ἐμπειρίας

123 In Г. В. *V* ἀναπετάσας = *razvrъzъ* in *ES*.
124 In MS *1836* ἐκδέχεται = *židetъ* in *ES*.
125 In Г. В. *V* ἐπὶ.
126 Psalms 148 : 12 – 13 (variant: πρεσβῦται).
127 In Г. В. *V* περιέρχεται = *ōbьxoditъ* in *ES*.
128 In Г. В. *V* ἀναιδούμενος.

бѣдами облагаѩ. страсти наносѧ.	περιφέρων τε[129] ⟨ἀσθενείαις
нєдѫгы тєпы. И єг҇да тѧ видитъ мѫжьскы	μαστίζων, καὶ ὅτε εὕρῃ γενναίως
в҇сє трьпѧща. Пакы налагаєтъ	ταῦτα ὑποφέροντα⟩,[130] πάλιν
ти оунꙑниє. много прилєжьно.	ὑποβάλλει ἀκηδίαν πολλήν,
Невеликоу творѧ пощєниє твоє.	ῥαθυμίαν ἐπίμονον, εὐτελίζων σου
ѣко б҃оу нєгодѣ сѫщє.	τὴν ἄσκησιν ὡς Θεῷ μή
Раꙁлѫчєниє вълагаєтъ ти.	ἀρέσκουσαν, χωρισμόν σοι
ѡтъ добродѣанꙑ дроужинꙑ.	ἐπιτίθεται ἐκ τῆς ἐναρέτου[131]
Въспоминаєтъ бо ти любьвь	σου συνοδίας· ὑπομιμνήσκει γάρ σε
родитєлю. братрьнѭ любьвь.	τὸ(ν) τῶν γονέων πόθον, ἀδελφῶν
Дроугъ съчєтаниє.	στοργήν, φίλων συνουσίαν,
похоть брашєнъ многꙑхъ.	χρημάτων ἐπιθυμίαν, βρωμάτων
сластьнꙑѩ похоти.	πολυτέλειαν, ἡδονῶν γαργαλισμούς·
Єстъ бо дръꙁъ	ἔστι γὰρ τολμηρὸς
ꙁъло творити.	ἐπὶ τὸ κακοποιῆσαι καὶ πολύτροπος
і лѫкавъ обрьпьтити.	ἐπὶ τὸ παροδηγῆσαι· μὴ οὖν
Не оубои жє сѧ єго. Ни пакъ	φοβηθῇς αὐτόν, ἢ πάλιν χλευασθῇς
прѣльщєнъ бѫди імь. Нє иматъ	ἐξ αὐτοῦ, οὔτε γὰρ ἔχει δύναμιν
бо силꙑ авѣ пакости творити	προφανῶς βλάψαι, ἢ μόνον
ток҇мо помꙑшлєньи състрѣлѣти.	λογισμοὺς τοξεῦσαι. Εἰδὼς οὖν,
Вѣдꙑ оубо о чѧдо. Ѣко в҇сє	τέκνον, ὅτι πᾶσα μὲν παιδεία πρὸς
покаꙁаниє въ то врѣмѧ.	τὸ παρὸν οὐ δοκεῖ χαρᾶς εἶναι,
Нє мьнитъ радости бꙑти.	ἀλλὰ λύπης, ὕστερον δὲ καρπὸν
нъ скръби. Послѣдь жє плодъ	εἰρηνικὸν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῆς
мирєнъ ісходатаєтъ.	δοκιμαζομένοις προξενεῖ,

129 In *1836* περιφέροντα, in Г. В. *V* ἐπιφέρων = *nanosę* in *ES*.
130 Supplemented from Г. В. *V*.
131 In Г. В. *V* συνθέτου.

Искоушениємь
отъ него. не прѣнємагаи. о тѣхъ ѩжє
имаши сърѣтати скръби.
Занє єгожє любитъ гь҃ покаꙁаєтъ.
Биєтъ же вс҇єго сн҃а єгожє
приєⷧмєтъ. Блюди чѧдо. ѣко огнємь нє
обиноуѭщємь сѧ. ıматъ искоусити
дѣло твоє. въ страшъны и трпєтъны
дєнь сѫда. Єг҃да сн҃ь бж҃ьи придєтъ.
сѫдити хотѧ живымъ. ı мрътвымъ.
Въꙁдати комоуж҇до противо
дѣломъ єго. то҇гда иматъ
дѣло твоє искоушєно быти.
каково бѫдєтъ. ı ѣкожє троудиши
сѧ. тако ı мъꙁдѫ принимєши.
отъ вс҇ѣхъ оу бо храни сѧ.
ѡтъ нихъжє въходитъ грѣховъ—
наа сърмъть. любодѣаниє. имьжє ст҃ыни
тѣлєсънаа с҇кврънитъ сѧ.
нєчистоты. Єѩжє скврънєниє.
тѣлоу множит҇сѧ. Ръвєниѣ
родитєлє ꙁъломъ. Завиды
противѧщєѩ сѧ бж҃ьи

μὴ οὖν ὀλιγώρει ἐν[132] οἷς μέλλεις
συναντᾶν θλιβεροῖς· ὅτι ὅν ἀγαπᾷ
Κύριος παιδεύει, μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα
υἱὸν ὃν παραδέχεται.[133] Βλέπε,
τέκνον, ὅτι διὰ πυρὸς ἀπροσωπολ-
ήπτου μέλλει τὸ ἔργον σου δοκι-
μάζεσθαι ἐν τῇ φοβερᾷ καὶ φρικτῇ
ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως· ὅταν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου[134] παραγίνεται κρῖναι
ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς καὶ ἀποδοῦναι
ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, τότε
μέλλει τὸ ἔργον σου τῆς ἀσκήσεως
δοκιμὰζεσθαι ὁποῖόν ἐστιν, καὶ
καθὼς κοπιάσεις, οὕτως καὶ τὸν
μισθὸν ἀπολήψῃ. Πάντων[135]
ἀπέχου, δι'ὧν ὁ τῆς ἁμαρτίας
ἔρχεται[136] θάνατος·
⟨πορνείας⟩,[137] ὑφ' ἧς ὁ ἁγιασμὸς
τοῦ σώματος μιαίνεται,
ἀκαθαρσία(ς),[138] δι' ἧς ὁ
μολισμὸς πληθύνεται, ἔριδος, τῆς
γεννητρίας τῶν κακῶν, ζήλου, τοῦ
ἀντιτασσομένου[139] τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ

132 In Γ. Β. *V* ἐφ'= o in *ES*.
133 Hebrews 12 : 6: Ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ, etc.
134 In Γ. Β. *V*. Θεοῦ = *bžьi* in *ES*.
135 *1836* and Γ. Β. *V* add οὖν = *oubo* in *ES*.
136 In Γ. Β. *V* εἰσέρχεται = *vъxoditъ* in *ES*.
137 Supplemented from *1836* and Γ. Β. *V* = *ljuboděanie* in *ES*.
138 Supplemented from *1836*; Γ. Β. *V* omits the phrase from ἀκαθαρσίας to πληθύνεται.
139 In *1836* ἀντικειμένου = *protivęštejȩ sȩ* in *ES*.

правдѣ̑. ѣрости. ѡмрачаѭщи
срч҇ьнѣи очи. лихоиманиѣ.
Родителѣ неприѣзнинъ
дѣлєсъ. слоуженью.
гръдынѧ отълѫчаѭщѧѩ
отъ б҃а. Занє творѧщии таковаа.
ц҃рства б҃жьѣ наслѣдовати
нє могѫтъ.
Тыоубо о чѧдо.
Ходи по заповѣдємъ г҃нѣмъ присно.
послѣдоуѩ повєлѣниємъ єго.
Въ забьдѣнънѫѭ молитвѫ.
Въ бєстѫжъноє поцєниє.
Въ бєздрьпътъноє слоужєниє.
въинънотрѣзвєниє. бл҃гословѧ
клънѫщѧѩ тѧ. благотворѧ
напасть дѣѭщиимъ тєбѣ.
б҃а моли за биѭщаѩ тѧ по

δικαιοσύνῃ,[140] θυμοῦ, τοῦ
σκοτοῦντος[141] τὸν τῆς καρδίας
ὀφθαλμόν, πλεονεξίας, τῆς
εἰδωλολατρείας[142] γεννητρίας,
ὑπερηφανίας, τῆς χωριζούσης ἀπὸ
τοῦ Θεοῦ· ὅτι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα
πράσσοντες, βασιλείαν Θεοῦ
κληρονομῆσαι οὐ δύνανται.[143]
Σὺ οὖν[144] ἀδελφέ, πορεύου ἐν[145]
ἐντολαῖς[146] Κυρίου διαπαντός,
ἀκολουθῶν τοῖς αὐτοῦ
προστάγμασιν· ἐν ἀγρυπνίᾳ, ἐν
εὐχῇ,[147] ἐν ἀπερικάκῳ ἐγκρατείᾳ, ἐν
ἀγογγίστῳ ὑπηρεσίᾳ ἐν διη(νε)κεῖ[148]
δίψῃ,[149] εὐλογῶν τοὺς
καταρωμένους, ἀγαθοποιῶν τοὺς
ἐπηρεάζοντας,[150] εὐχόμενος ὑπὲρ
τῶν τὴν σιαγόνα[151] τυπτόντων· ἀλλὰ

140 Thus in *1836* and Γ. Β. *V* (in Γ. Β. *VII* τής. . .δικαιοσύνης) = *pravdě* in *ES*.
141 In *1836* τοῦ ἐπισκοτοῦντος = *ōmračajǫšti* in *ES*; in Γ. Β. *V* τὸν σκοτίζοντα.
142 In *1836* and Γ. Β. *V* εἰδωλολάτρου.
143 Cf. Galatians 5:21: ὅτι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες βασιλείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν.
144 Γ. Β. *V* adds ὦ.
145 *1836* and Γ. Β. *V* add ταῖς.
146 *1836* and Γ. Β. *V* add τοῦ.
147 In *1836* and Γ. Β. *V* ἀγρύπνῳ εὐχῇ = *vъ zabьděnъnǫjǫ molitvǫ* in *ES*.
148 Thus in *1836* and Γ. Β. *V*.
149 In *1836* θλίψει, in Γ. Β. *V* νήψει = *trězvenie* in *ES*.
150 In Γ. Β. *V* σὲ περεαίζοντας = *napastь dějǫštiimъ tebě*.
151 Thus in *1836* and Γ. Β. *V* (in Γ. Β. *VII* σηαγῶνα).

ланитѣ. нє даѭщꙗ мѣста	δίδου τόπον τῇ ὀργῇ,[152] ἵνα γένῃ
гнѣвоу. Да бѫдєши чѧдо	τέκνον φωτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας·[153] στενὴ
свѣтоу и дьни. ѫꙁъка бо врата	γὰρ ἡ πύλη καὶ ⟨τεθλιμμένη⟩[154]
и скръбєнъ пѫть. Въводѧ въ животъ.	ἡ ὁδός, ἡ πρὸς τὴν ζωὴν ἀπάγουσα,
і мало єстъ тѣхъ. іжє и обрѣтаѭтъ.	καὶ ὀλίγοι εἰσὶν οἱ εὑρίσκοντες
тѣмь жє ꙁовєтъ г҃ь гл҃ѧ.	αὐτήν·[155] ὅθεν καλεῖ ὁ Κύριος
Придѣтє къ м͡нѣ в͡си	λέγων· δεῦτε πρός με πάντες οἱ
троуждаѭщєи сѧ. і обрѣмєнєнии.	κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφορτισμένοι, κἀγὼ
і аꙁъ вы покоѭ. Въꙁъмѣтє	ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς· ἄρατε τὸν ζυγόν
иго моє на васъ. і наоучитє	μου ἐφ'ὑμᾶς καὶ μάθετε ἀπ'ἐμοῦ, ὅτι
сѧ отъ мєнє. ѣко кротокъ	πρᾷός εἰμι καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ
єсмъ. і съмѣрєнъ ср҃цємь.	καὶ εὑρήσετε ἀνάπαυσιν ταῖς
і обрѧщєтє покои д҃шамъ вашимъ.	ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν· ὁ γὰρ ζυγός μου
иго бо моє благо. и брѣмѧ моє	χρηστὸς καὶ τὸ φορτίον μου
лєгъко єстъ.	ἐλαφρόν ἐστιν.[156]

Regarding the next exhortation (the one that is still being used today), it is puzzling that the Slavonic compiler should have omitted the following introductory sentence found in all Greek texts of the first formulary of the Office of the Great Habit, beginning with the most ancient ones (e.g., the Grottaferrata MS Γ. B. *VII* and the *Euchologium* of the Rumjancev Museum in Moscow, MS *474*:

Ὑφηγοῦμαι οὖν καί σοι, ὦ τέκνον, τελειότητα τῆς ζωῆς, ἐν ᾗ κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ Κυρίου πολιτεία διαδείκνυται, διαμαρτυρούμενος ἅπερ χρὴ ἀσπάσασθαι σε καὶ ὧν δέον ἐκφυγεῖν σε· ἡ ἀποταγὴ τοίνυν οὐδὲν ἄλλο καθέστηκεν κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα, εἰ μὴ σταυροῦ καὶ θανάτου ἐπαγγελία.[157]

[152] Cf. Romans 12 : 19: μὴ ἑαυτοὺς ἐνδικοῦντες, ἀγαπητοί, ἀλλὰ δότε τόπον τῇ ὀργῇ; in *ES* erroneous *ne* instead of *nъ* or *no* = ἀλλὰ, and *dajǫšta* instead of *daždi* = δίδου (the Slavic compiler understood it as: "Pray to God . . . Who giveth no place for anger").

[153] Cf. 1 Thessalonians 5 : 5: υἱοι φωτός ἐστε καὶ υἱοὶ ἡμέρας.

[154] Supplemented from *1836* and Γ. B. *V*.

[155] Cf. Matthew 7 : 14: στενὴ ἡ πύλη καὶ τεθλιμμένη ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωὴν, καὶ ὀλίγοι εἰσὶν οἱ εὑρίσκοντες αὐτήν.

[156] Matthew 9 : 28 – 30 (variant: πραΰς).

[157] "So I instruct thee, too, O child, in the perfection of life in which a conduct in imitation of the Lord is plainly displayed, and solemnly state what thou shouldst welcome and what things thou shouldst eschew. For the renunciation of the world is nothing else, as the saying goes, but a profession of cross and death." Wawryk, p. 22*.

Apparently, after the preceding praise of chastity, which ends with Christ's words of Matthew 11:28–30, the Slavonic compiler deemed it unnecessary to cite the traditional admonition about renunciation of the world (*apotagē*).

The ceremony concludes in the *ES* (as it does in all the texts of the catechesis for the newly professed monk) with the following statement by the priest, somewhat shortened in comparison with the Greek original:

ES fol. 92[a], Nahtigal, pp. 285	Goar (ed. of 1647), pp. 505–507, Frček, p. 555
си в҃сѣ тако обѣщаваеши сѧ. оупъваниемь. и силѫ хв҃оѭ хранити сѧ ⁊/.	ταῦτα πάντα οὕτω καθομολογεῖς ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι διακαρτερεῖν συντάσσῃ μέχρι τέλους ζωῆς, χάριτι Χριστοῦ.
(Promisest thou all these things in this way to keep preserved [?] by the hope and the power of Christ [the Slavic text is corrupt here]).	(Promisest thou all those things, in the hope of the might of God, and agreest thou to abide by these promises, until the end of <your> life by the grace of Christ?)

Then (still fol. 92[a]) the priest adds an inquiry which is not found in any other Greek or Slavonic Office of the Great Habit:

ВЪПРОШЄНИЄ ⁊/.
испыталъ ли єси манастыръ ⁊/.
·:· оⷮвѣⷮ ⁊/. Испыталъ ⁊/.
ВЪПРОⷭ ÷ Естъ ли ти годѣ игоумєнъ. и братриѣ в҃сѣ ⁊/.
оⷮвѣⷮ ⁊/. годѣ х҃а ради ⁊/.
·:· ВЪПРОⷭ ⁊/. Блюди сѧ чьто гл҃еши. Ащє
хощєши. Да ти ослабимъ.
Єщє мало врѣмѧ искоуси сѧ ⁊/.
·:· ѡⷮвѣⷮ ⁊/. Ни оу бо помилоуитє мѧ х҃а ради.
нєдостоинааго.
и братрьи причинитє [perhaps причьтитє should be
read, although cf. the old Czech *přičiniti*, in the meaning
of "attach, add"] мѧ ⁊/.

Question: Hast thou examined the monastery?
Answer: I have.
Question: Likest thou the hegumen and all the brethren?
Answer: I like for the sake of Christ.
Question: Take heed of what thou sayest. If thou wantest that we relent on thee then test thyself for a little more time.
Answer: Oh, no! Have mercy on me, who am unworthy, for the sake of Christ, and add me to the <number of?> brethren!

Even if this dramatized dialogue has no exact equivalent in Greek *euchologia*, it was hardly composed by the Slavonic compiler, for some Greek texts do use some similar formula. Thus, for instance, the catechesis Ἀγγελικὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ βίος τῆς ἀσκήσεως ("Angelic is the life of asceticism") addressed to the newly professed monk in the *Euchologium* of *Vaticanus Graecus 1970* (saec. XII), adds the following words: νῦν γὰρ παρακαλῶ· οὐδείς σε βιάζει λαβεῖν τὸ σχῆμα τοῦτο τὸ ἀγγελικὸν· καὶ κατέμαθες τὸν κανόνα τοῦ μοναστηρίου, ἀρέσκει σοι ἀδελφότης πᾶσα ("So now I exhort <thee>: Nobody forceth thee to take this angelic habit, and thou hast learned the rule of the monastery. Are all the brethren to thy liking?").[158] And the Moscow *Schēmatologion* (Synodal Library) *Graecus 396*, saec. XIII, adds: εἰ θέλεις, ἐνδίδωμί σου καὶ ἄλλον χρόνον, καὶ ἐξέτασον καὶ δοκίμασον ἑαυτὸν ἀκριβῶς ("If thou wantest, I <shall> offer thee some more time; examine and test thyself with care").[159]

Against the background of an insistent plea of the newly professed monk to be accepted into the monastic brotherhood, the next prayer by the priest in the *ES*, fol. 92^{b}–93^{a} inc., *Prěštedry bže i m̄nogomilostive* = Ὁ πανοικτίρμων ὢν Θεὸς καὶ πολυέλεος, characteristic of the third formulary of the Office of the Great Habit, differs in its Slavonic version from the Greek original. As Frček notes, the Slavic translation is somewhat clumsy:[160] in one part of the prayer, God is addressed instead of the novice; but then the Slavonic text follows the Greek and proceeds to speak of God in the third person (*zapovědei ego*, τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐντολῶν, '*His* commandments').

In the variant of the same prayer destined for nuns who are invested with the Great Habit, the *ES* (fol. 93^{a}) mentions a mysterious holy anchoress *Ieronië*, otherwise unknown. Perhaps the Slavonic translator means

158 Wawryk, p. 75*, fn. 23.
159 Wawryk, p. 79*, fn. 25. Some of these phrases are repeated in the Georgian version of the same catechesis for the newly professed monk in the already mentioned Office of the Great Habit of St. Euthymius of Athos (cf. fn. 115).
160 Frček, pt. 2, p. 556, fn. 2.

St. Hieria (Ἱερεία), a little-known anchoress of Nisibis in Mesopotamia whose death is put at 320.[161] It is hardly possible that the prayer in the *ES* commemorated St. Irene (Εἰρήνη, known in Slavonic as *Irina*), the abbess in Constantinople in the ninth-tenth century who may have been a contemporary of SS. Cyril and Methodius.[162]

The next two prayers in the *ES* (fol. 93ᵃ–95ᵃ) correspond closely to the Greek of the printed *euchologia* (e.g., Goar, ed. of 1730, pp. 409–410). In the last special catechesis of the first part of the Office of the Great Habit (*ES*, fol. 95ᵇ–96ᵃ), the priest exhorts those present to believe in the Divine presence during the Office. Since the Greek equivalent, published by Pal'mov,[163] from the Moscow *Schēmatologion* of the Synodal Library, MS *Graecus 396*, remained unknown to Frček and Nahtigal, it is reproduced here alongside the Slavonic text of the *ES*, which, again, closely follows an early version of the Greek:

ES fol. 95ᵇ–96ᵃ, Nahtigal, pp. 297–298	Moscow Schēmatologion of the Synodal Library, MS Graecus 396, fol. 66ᵃᵇ; Pal'mov, pp. 180–181, and the appendix, pp. 48–49
Сє же д҃ховъно сънѧтиє.	Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν πνευματικὸν
Видѧщє братриѣ. ꙁвѣстъно	σύλλογον, ἀδελφοί, θεωροῦντες,
ны єстъ. по б҃жиѣмъ кънигамъ.[164]	πειθόμεθα ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς
нє то҇кмо н҃бсънымъ силамъ	μὴ μόνον τὰς οὐρανίους πάσας
прити. нъ и самого б҃а	δύναμεις παρεῖναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν
нєвидимо съ нами быти.	τὸν Θεὸν ἀοράτως ἡμῖν συνεῖναι
вь сь часъ. тѣмь жє братриє	τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ. Ὅθεν, ἀδελφοὶ
с҃таа. ꙁъванью вышънюмоу	ἅγιοι, κλήσεως ἐπουρανίου
причѧстъници. Въꙁлюбльшє	μέτοχοι,[165] οἱ τῆς ἁγίας

[161] Arxiepiskop Sergij (Spasskij), *Polnyj mesjaceslov Vostoka*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Vladimir, 1901), p. 166 (June 3). Cf. also H. Delehaye, ed., *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (= Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris) (Brussels, 1902), pp. 727, 48; 769, 19.

[162] A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, vol. 1, pt. 3 (Leipzig, 1952), p. 908; *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*³, II (1957), no. 952.

[163] Pal'mov, p. 189, and the appendix, pp. 48–49.

[164] Cf. Matthew 18 : 20: "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

[165] Hebrews 3 : 1.

ст̅ѫѭ цр̅квь. благѫѭ лѣпотѫ.	ἐκκλησίας τὴν εὐπρέπειαν
на сп̅ѥниѥ дш̅амъ вашимъ.	ἀγαπήσαντες ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ψυχῶν
Въ дьнєсьнєи дєнь съшєдъшє	ἡμῶν, ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ
сѧ. съ пр̅комь д̅домь ръцѣмъ.	συνελθόντες, μετὰ τοῦ προφήτου Δαβὶδ
сь дєнь іжє сътвори г̅ь.	εἴπωμεν· Αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα, ἣν ἐποίησεν
въꙁдрадоуимъ сѧ і вьꙁвєсєлимъ	ὁ Κύριος. ἀγαλλιασώμεθα καὶ
сѧ вь нь. і прославимъ	εὐφρανθῶμεν ἐν αὐτῇ,[166] καὶ δοξάζωμεν
х̅а истинънааго б̅а нашєго.	Χριστὸν, τὸν ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν
Въ благодѣть дш̅ъ нашихъ.	ἐπὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ ψυχῶν
нынѣ нарицаѭщю сѧ.	τῶν νῦν ἀφιερομένων αὐτῷ.
ѥмоужє подобаєтъ вьсѣ слава.	ᾧ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα
чєсть и дръжава. і покланѣ-	τιμή, κράτος καὶ προσκύνησις
ниє. і вєльлѣпота. коупъноу	καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια ἅμα
прѣст̅оумоу о̅цю и с̅ноу.	τῷ ἀχράντῳ αὐτοῦ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ
і благоумоу. и животворѧ-	ἁγίῳ καὶ προσκυνητῷ αὐτοῦ
щюмоу д̅хоу. нынѣ ·/.	Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ
	εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν ἀιώνων,
	ἀμήν.

The foregoing analysis of the introductory part of the Office of the Great Habit in the *ES* has shown that this oldest Slavic witness reflects a developed stage of this service and that it possibly displays some innovative traits. The second part of that Office, as we read it in the *ES*, belongs to the third formulary of the Office of the Great Habit. However, the Slavic text differs somewhat from the Greek models (both old and modern) for the third formulary.

In the primitive stage of the third formulary, the tonsure of the novice by the priest was followed by the tonsure by the brethren. Chanting Psalm 118, the novice and the monastic community withdrew to the narthex to perform the tonsure. At the same time, at the altar the great litany (*ektenēs*) before the *Trisagion* and the hymn "O holy God," the *prokeimenon* and lections from the epistles and from the Gospels were being sung or read.

[166] Psalms 117 : 24.

Thereupon the newly tonsured monk was led back to the altar to receive his monastic garb, and after two concluding prayers (which are still used today) and the brotherly kisses, the liturgy was continued with the triple *ektenēs*.[167]

The *ES*, however, assigns *expressis verbis* the return of the newly tonsured monk to the altar immediately after the *Trisagion*, just prior to the *prokeimenon*: "And after the *Trisagion*, the deacon saith not 'Let us attend,' but they lead the tonsured one to the altar. And the priest vesteth him" (*I po trъstěmь ne rečeᵗ diᵉ̌ vъnъměᵐ ·/. nъ privedǫtъ postriženaago kъ olъtarju ·/. I oblačitъ i p̄p̄ъ*, fol. 96ᵇ). This place of the investiture (before the *prokeimenon* and before liturgical lections) is different from that assigned to it in all Greek texts of the ancient third formulary of the Office of the Great Habit (tenth through twelfth centuries) known to us, as well as from those of the second formulary, in which the investiture also takes place after liturgical lections.

This transposition of the investiture in the *ES* can only be explained by analogy with the first formulary. Its oldest text (represented by the Grottaferrata Γ. B. *VII* and by the *Vaticanus Graecus 1836*) puts the entire service, together with the investiture, before the liturgical lections; it thus replaces the introductory part of the mass (*enarxis*).[168] In the text of the first part of the Office of the Great Habit, the *ES* borrowed the characteristic catechesis "Here, with the right hand" (*se desnicejǫ*, ἰδοὺ δεξιὰς) from the oldest first formulary; in the text concerning the investiture, the *ES* again followed the first formulary, transferring the ceremony to a place before the liturgical readings.

The final part of the Office of the Great Habit as we read it in the *ES* (fol. 98ᵃ ff.) also differs from the Greek texts of the third formulary. First of all, immediately after the investiture and the brotherly kisses, the *ES* gives the full text of the *ektenēs*, starting with "In peace let us pray to the Lord" (*Miromь g̅j̅u̅ pomolim̅s̅ę*, Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν) and ending with "The most holy, immaculate" (*Prěs̄tǫjǫ, čistǫjǫ*, τῆς παναγίας ἀχράντου) (fol. 98ᵃᵇ). This *ektenēs* does not occur in this place in the Greek texts of either the third or the second formulary that can be assigned to the time of the *ES*. Furthermore, the two original prayers after the investiture that occur together in those Greek texts from the oldest times until today are separated in the *ES*. There, the first prayer, "O Lord, our God,

167 Wawryk, pp. 143–44; cf. pp. 136–38. On the *ektenēs* before the *Trisagion*, cf. A. Strittmatter, "Notes on the Byzantine Synapte," *Traditio* 10 (1954): 51–108, and J. Mateos, *La célébration de la Parole dans la liturgie byzantine* (Rome, 1971), pp. 42–43.

168 Wawryk, p. 126. Frček, pt. 2, p. 567, fn. 22, needlessly cites the rubric from the Office of the *proschēma* in the *euchologium* of the *Parisinus Graecus 392* (twelfth century), for in this particular version the investiture takes place prior to the *Trisagion* (cf. Wawryk, pp. 205–206).

trustworthy in Thy promises'' (*Gī Bže našъ. věrъny vъ obětovanьi tvoemь*, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις σου), with an *ekphōnēsis* (raising the voice at the end) (fol. 98b–99b) immediately follows upon the *ektenēs*; while the second prayer, ''O Lord, our God, usher this servant of Thine'' (*Gī Bže našъ vьvedi raba tvoego sego*, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, εἰσάγαγε τὸν δοῦλον σου), comes at the end of the ceremony of the removal of the cowl (*apokukulismos*), performed on the eighth day after the investiture with the Great Habit (fol. 100b–101a). Finally, in the *ES* this prayer is followed by the prayer ''Glory in the highest to God'' (*Slava vъ vyšъniixъ Bōu*, Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, fol. 101a–102a), a prayer that does not occur in the Greek parallel texts of the *ES*'s time. Only some Greek texts of the third formulary dated between the twelfth and the fifteenth century do have this prayer after the prayer ''Lord, our God, usher this servant of Thine.'' These later texts of the third formulary borrow the prayer ''Glory. . .'' from the second formulary, where it consistently concludes the Office of the Great Habit.[169]

In my opinion, all these transpositions go back to a manuscript, whether Greek or Slavonic, in which the order of the folia had been disturbed: the scribe of the *ES* may have used such a manuscript as his model, beginning with the *ektenēs* of the *Trisagion* (fol. 98ab). It would have been more natural for this *ektenēs* to stand near its first mention on fol. 94b. Likewise, the prayer ''O Lord, our God, usher this servant of Thine'' seems to have been mechanically transposed from its original place to a place after the two prayers of the *apokukulismos*, the priest's invocation ''Peace to all,'' and the deacon's words ''Our heads let us bow to the Lord'' (fol. 100b). Incidentally, the latter two formulae seem to be superfluous towards the end of fol. 100b, for they have already occurred between the first and the second prayer of the *apokukulismos* (beginning of fol. 100b). Thus the original place of the prayer ''O Lord, our God, usher in this servant of Thine'' (as well as that of the prayer ''Glory in the highest to God'' [fol. 101a–102a]) is after the prayer ''O Lord, our God, trustworthy in Thy promises'' (on fol. 98b–99b). Here, at fol. 99b, is the natural place for the resumption of the celebration of the mass, interrupted by the investiture, for it is at this folio that a rubric begins informing about the further liturgical rites.

After such a rearrangement of prayers in the *ES*, there would remain only two prayers in the ceremony called ''Prayer for the Time of Removing the Cowl'' (*Mol egda sъnęti koukoulь*; fol. 100ab): ''O Master, Lord, till the end'' (*Vlko Gī do konca*) and ''O good Lord, lover of mankind'' (*Blagy čkljubče Gī*), just as in the Greek *euchologia* of the eleventh and twelfth

169 Wawryk, pp. 137, 152–53, 97–98*.

centuries (Grottaferrata Γ. Β. *XLIII* and Bessarion's MS, Grottaferrata Γ. Β. *I*). There the Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ κατηνέγκαι τὸ κουκούλλιον contains the same two prayers, Δέσποτα Κύριε, ἕως τέλους and Ἀγαθέ (variant: Ἅγιε) καὶ φιλάνθρωπε Κύριε, which are separated by the same formulae as in the *ES*: Εἰρήνη πᾶσι(ν) and Τὰς κεφαλάς / τῷ Κυρίῳ κλίνωμεν /.[170]

Thus, an analysis of the second part of the Office of the Great Habit in the *ES*, combined with juxtaposing this part with the most ancient Greek models, enables us to reconstruct the original arrangement of the *ES*'s prayers and rubrics, beginning with the tonsure of the newly professed monk by his brethren and ending with the ceremony of the *apokukulismos*. The procedure adopted here contrasts with that of Frček, who simply dismembered the Greek text of *Coislin 213* corresponding to this section of the *ES*, added variants from other texts (especially Goar, ed. of 1647), and rearranged the pieces to fit the sequence of passages in the *ES*.[171]

Here is our reconstruction of the original arrangement of the *ES*:

fol. 96^{b}: "The priest entereth the altar <space> and the deacon saith the <deacon's> services that are before the *Trisagion*"

(п͞пъ въходитъ къ олътарю. И РЕ͡Ч ДИ͡Ѣ. ДИѢКОНСТВА.
ѣже ПРѢ͡Д тръс͞тымь).

fol. 98^{a}: "Deacon: In peace let us pray to the Lord"

(Ди͡Ѣ Миромь г͞ю помолимсѧ.)

fol. 96^{b}–98^{b}: "And they sing the *Trisagion*. And after the *Trisagion* the deacon saith not: 'Let us attend,'[172] but they lead the tonsured one to the altar. And the priest vesteth him saying thus: Our brother. . ."

(И поѭтъ тръстоє. И по тръс͞тѣмь нє рече͡Т ди͡Ѣ. вънъмѣ͡М ·/. Нъ привєджт
пострижєнааго къ олътарю ·/. И облачитъ и п͞пъ г͞лѧ сицє ·/. Братръ нашъ ...).

(There follows the investiture and kisses, with prayers called *stichēra*.)

[170] Wawryk, p. 104*; Frček, pt. 2, pp. 581, 583. In addition, the rubric after the first prayer says: "And this is for the removal of cowl of women" (*A se ženamъ koukoulju sъnęti*), although the following prayer has the masculine pronoun: *i sъpodobi i* 'and make him worthy' (= καὶ καταξίωσον αὐτὸν), i.e., the newly professed monk. The same prayer was probably used, with small variations, for both monks and nuns.

[171] Frček, pt. 2, pp. 569–87.

[172] Frček, pt. 2, p. 568, mistakenly translates "Communions" as "Let us receive the sacrament!" The Greek equivalent (e.g., in Wawryk, p. 84*) is Πρόσχωμεν, 'Let us attend (give heed, listen).'

fol. 98b–99b "The priest prayeth secretly: O Lord, our God, trustworthy. . ."
"Audibly: "Let us send glory to Thee. . ."

(по[п] моли[т] сѧ въ таинѫ ˙/. Гı бж͞е нашъ. вѣрънꙑ ...
в[ш] ˙/. Да тєбѣ славѫ въıсълаємъ ...).

fol. 100b–102a "Priest: Peace to all. People: And to thy spirit. Deacon: Let us bow our heads to the Lord. People: To Thee, O Lord."
Priest secretly: O Lord, our God, usher in this servant of Thine. . ."
"Audibly: For Thou art the shepherd. . ." "And afterwards the priest asketh[173] the one who hath accepted the habit. . ." "Hast thou accepted the angelic garb? —And the accepting one saith: I have. —Hast thou accepted the chastity of virginity? —He saith: I have. —The priest, having raised his hands, speaketh very loudly: Glory in the Highest to God. . ."
"Audibly: For thou art our God. . ."

(ПО[п] МИ[р] ВСѢ. ЛЮ[м] И ДХО[д] ТВОЄ[в][м]. ДИ[ѣ] ·:· гла[в] на[ш] г͞ю по[к] лю[д].
тє[б] гı ˙/. по[п] таи ˙/. Гı бж͞е нашъ. въвєди раба твоєго
сєго ...
в[ш]. тꙑ бо єси пастꙑрь. ...
И ПО СЄ[м] ВЪПРАШАЄ[т] ПО[п] ПРИЄМЪШАаго обраꙁъ ...
Приѩтъ ли аћлъскѫѭ одєждѭ ˙/. и глє[т] приємꙑ приѩсъ ˙/.
Приѩтъ ли чистотѫ дѣвъства ˙/. г͞лєтъ ˙/. приѩсъ ˙/.
ППЪ ВЪЗДѢВЪ РѪЦѢ РЄчєтъ вєльми ˙/. Слава въ
вꙑшънииxъ б͞оу. ...
в[ш] Тꙑ бо єси б͞ъ нашъ ...).

[173] Frček, pt. 2, p. 585, who cites the relevant Greek rubric from the *schēmatologion* of Athos (St. Panteleemon Monastery, MS *604*, saec. XV) repeats, after Dmitrievskij, p. 562, the erroneous ἀποκρίνει αὐτὸν ὁ ἱερεύς instead of ἀνακρίνει 'examineth' that Dmitrievskij corrected in his "Errata" *ad locum.*

fol. $99^{b}-100^{a}$ "Deacon: Let us attend! —Priest: Peace to all. —People: And to thy spirit. —And sitting down occurreth.[174] Prokeimenon. . ."

"Reader: The Apostle. Halleluiah. . ." [no mention of reading from the Gospels]

"And there taketh place the remainder of the order of the service, to the end. And when they lead the tonsured one into the refectory they sing this song, at the third tone:

O Lord, Lord, look favorably down from Heaven. . ."

(ДИ^{ѣ} ВЪ^{н}МѢ^{м} '/. ПО^{п} МИ^{р} ВСѢ^{м} ЛЮ^{д} И ДХО^{в} '/. и бываe^{т}.
съдениe. про^{к} ...
чьць^{т} апо^{л} '/. алe^{л} ...
И бываe^{т} прочеи чи^{н} слоужъбѣ до конца '/. Єгдаже
приведѫтъ постригъшааго сѧ на трапезѫ '/. поѭтъ
пѣниe сe гла^{с} г̄ '/. Г̄і г̄і. призьри съ н̄бсe ...).

fol. 100^{ab} "*Prayer for the time of removing the cowl.*"

". . .The priest saith this prayer secretly: O Master, Lord, till the end. . ."
"Priest: Peace to all. —People: And to thy spirit. —Deacon: Our heads let us bow! —People: To Thee, O God. —Priest secretly: O good Lord, lover of mankind. . ."

(мо^{л} eгда съньти коукоуль.
глe^{т} п̄пъ мо^{л} сиѭ таи '/. Вл̄ко г̄і. до конца ...
По^{п} ми^{р} всѣ^{м} Лю^{д} и Дхо^{в} твоe. ДИ^{м} гла^{ѣ}^{в} на г̄ю^{ш} по^{к} '/.
лю^{д} тeбѣ г̄і. по^{п} таи '/. Благы ч̄колюбчe г̄і ...).

Related to the Office of the Great Habit in the *ES* are the liturgical readings on its last folios, $105^{b}-106^{b}$, even though these are separated from the text of the Office by the long chapter "The Commandments of the Holy Fathers" (*Zapovědi styxъ ōcь*; fol. $102^{a}-105^{b}$). These readings have the vague heading "On Monday" (*Vъ po*^{n}). The connection between the Office and the liturgical readings of fol. $105^{b}-106^{b}$ is assured for it occurs in the Greek model already published by Pal'mov from the *Barberinianus Graecus 336*,[175] our earliest *euchologium*. The Greek model contains, in addition to the Office of the Great Habit and the ceremony of the

174 Frček, pt. 2, pp. 578–79, gives here the correct translation of the Slavonic rubric: "on s'asseoit," but explains it erroneously as καθίσμα, 'a *troparion* during which one can remain seated.' The Slavonic phrase is modelled after the Greek words καὶ γίνεται καθέδρα (cf. Goar, p. 110; N. Skaballanovič, *Tolkovyj tipikon*, vol. 2 [Kiev, 1913], pp. 139–40).

175 Pal'mov, the appendix, pp. 6–8.

apokukulismos, a series of liturgical readings with *prokeimena*, halleluiahs and *stichoi* (verses) for the liturgies which were celebrated in the presence of the newly professed monk during the eight days after his assumption of the Great Habit. Both in the Greek model and in the *ES* we read, for the first day after the Great Habit ceremony, the same *prokeimenon*: "Pray and render unto the Lord, our God" (*Pomolite sę i vъzdadite Gju Bou, našemou*, Εὔξασθε καὶ ἀπόδοτε Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν; cf. Psalms 76 : 12),[176] with the *stichos* "In Judah is God known" (*Znaemъ vъ Ijudei Bъ*, Γνωστὸς ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ὁ Θεός; Psalms 76 : 2 [76 : 1 in the King James version]), the epistle to the Ephesians 4 : 1–7 (*Moljǫ vy azъ ǫžъnikъ o Gī*, παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ ὁ δέσμιος ἐν Κυρίῳ 'I, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you'), halleluiah with the *stichos* "Approach Him and become enlightened" (*Pristǫpite kъ nemou i prosvětite sę*, προσέλθατε πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ φωτίσθητε, Psalms 34 : 6) and the same reading from Matthew 22 : 1–14 (*Podobъno estъ crstvo nbskoe čkou crju*, Ὡμοιώθη ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνθρώπῳ βασιλεῖ 'The kingdom of heaven is like unto a certain king'). Mansvetov, Frček, and Nahtigal, failing to realize this, made various suppositions regarding the place of fol. 105^{b}–106^{b} of the *ES* in the cycle of the liturgical lections of the ecclesiastical year.

The same list of lections and songs can be found in all three manuscripts of the first formulary of the Office of the Great Habit: Grottaferrata Γ. B. *VII* and Γ. B. *V* and *Vaticanus Graecus 1836*.[177] Moreover, the relevant lections in the two latter manuscripts are assigned to the second day after the celebration of the Office of the Great Habit, τῇ β' ἡμέρᾳ. This explains the mysterious *V& PO^{N}* in the *ES*: its compiler understood the Greek expression from the first formulary as τῇ Δευτέρᾳ 'on Monday,' i.e., the second day of the week counted from Sunday. This is another piece of evidence for the influence exercised by the first Greek formulary upon the *ES*. The *ES* also assigns the *apokukulismos* to the eighth day (Glagolitic Ⰷ), as do the Greek texts of the first formulary: τῇ ογδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ (so *Vaticanus Graecus 1836*) or ἕως τῆς η'⟨ἡμέρας⟩ φορῶν τὸ κουκούλλιον, 'wearing the cowl until the eighth day' (so Grottaferrata Γ. B. *V*), and not to the seventh

176 The rubric in the *ES* informs that this *prokeimenon* is sung in a tone called *GLA^{S} ISKRĪ B* (Glagolitic Ⰱ), literally 'second near tone.' Frček, pt. 1, p. 778, and pt. 2, pp. 596–97, considers *iskrь* to be a mistranslation of the Greek (ἦχος) πλ., which the Slavonic compiler resolved and understood as πλησίον 'near' instead of πλάγιος 'oblique,' i.e., plagal. For the meaning of the Slavonic musical term *iskrь*, see S. Lazarević, "An Unknown Early Slavic Modal Signature," *Byzantinoslavica* 25, no. 1 (1964): 98–100; and *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského* 14 (1966): 794.

177 Wawryk, pp. 179, 39–40*.

day, as the text of the third formulary cited by Frček does (Grottaferrata Γ.Β. *I* [Bessarion's MS]: τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ).[178]

IV

In our investigation of the Offices of the Little and Great Habit in the *ES*, we have attempted to distinguish between those elements in the Slavic that derive from their Greek models, and those that belong to the Slavonic compiler of the Offices. The conclusions are that the Offices of the Little and Great Habit as given in the *ES* on the whole reflect the third formulary of the corresponding Greek Office in its earliest known stage, found in a number of manuscripts of the tenth to eleventh centuries. Thus the *ES* is one of our most ancient witnesses predominantly for the Office of the Great Habit. It contains the prayer "O Lord, God of our salvation," the Greek model of which is preserved in manuscripts contemporaneous with the *ES*. In the Office of the Great Habit the *ES* has the special exhortation addressed to the community, "This spiritual gathering" (fol. 95^{b}–96^{a}), otherwise found only in a later Greek text of the Moscow *Schēmatologion* (Synodal Library, *Graecus 396*, saec. XIII).

In its Offices of the Little and Great Habit the *ES* borrows from the two oldest Greek formularies. The borrowings from the first formulary would include: the catechesis for the hegumen (fol. 82^{a}–83^{a}); the teaching about chastity for the newly professed monk (fol. 87^{b}–89^{b}); and the liturgical pericopes (two lections from the Epistles and the Gospels) for the second day of the octave after the investiture with the Great Habit (fol. 105^{b}–106^{b}). The assumed borrowings from the second formulary include: the prayer "O Lord, God of our salvation" (fol. 81^{b}); the catechesis to the sponsor (fol. 83^{ab}); and the prayer "Glory in the highest to God," with three preceding it (fol. 101^{a}–102^{a}).[179] As a result of those borrowings, passages of the *ES* relevant to our Offices have no exact counterpart among the oldest Greek manuscripts of the third formulary.

In its structure the *ES* displays two features absent from any known Greek text of the Offices: (1) exhortations addressed to the hegumen and to the sponsor have been placed at the very beginning of the service, in contradistinction to the first and second Greek formularies, from which they are borrowed; (2) the investiture has been transposed to a place before the liturgical lections, in contrast to all Greek texts of the third formulary.

178 Wawryk, pp. 40, 39; Frček, pt. 2, p. 581.
179 Wawryk, p. 137.

All this together illustrates the distinct place of the Office of the Great Habit in the *ES* among its Greek counterparts, even though the Slavonic translation is not everywhere accurate[180] and has been altered, curtailed, or on occasion enlarged (cf., in particular, fol. 92^{a} for the added dramatic dialogue at the end of the catechesis for the newly professed monk).

V

In light of the foregoing, it seems too simplistic an explanation to attribute all those passages of the *ES* which constitute the service of the monastic initiation to a single Slavonic translator, as did V. Vondrák, who saw in the *ES*, this most ancient Slavonic Ritual Book, the work of St. Clement, the disciple of SS. Cyril and Methodius.[181] The *ES* as we know it today does not seem to be the work of one individual or milieu, but rather the result of work by a number of people, extending over a period of time. It seems that the work started with the translation of the two Offices of the Little and Great Habit, because here and there one finds Moravianisms in them which suggest the times of SS. Cyril and Methodius.[182] The addition of the exhortations to the hegumen and sponsor in the Office of the Great Habit might be explained by the Saints' familiarity with the first and second formularies of those offices, possibly acquired during their sojourn in Rome—because those oldest formularies can only be found in *euchologia* and *schēmatologia* of Italo-Greek origin, dating from the eighth to twelfth centuries. If the assumption about the Cyrillo-Methodian origin of the two Offices in the *ES* is correct, then their models in the *ES* must predate the third Greek formulary (although in general they belong to that formulary), because the oldest Greek witnesses of the third formulary come from the tenth or eleventh century (the *Rumjancev 474* and the *Coislin 213*).

This does not mean, however, that all the transpositions peculiar to the Slavonic version need to be assumed as already present in the original Cyrillo-Methodian version. It is more likely that they arose as the translation was recopied and reworked. This might have happened at Ochrid in

180 Nahtigal, pp. x–xxi, cites inflectional, syntactical, and other errors in the *ES*.

181 V. Vondrák, *Studie z oboru cirkevnoslovanského písemnictví* (Prague, 1903), p. 162; idem, "Altdeutsche Beichtformen im Altkirchenslavischen und in den Freisinger Denkmälern," *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 16 (1896): 12.

182 A. Vaillant, "L'Eucologe du Sinai: Particularités de la langue et du texte," *Byzantinoslavica* 21, no. 1 (1960): 75–78, 80–81, 83.

Macedonia, where St. Clement (d. 916), St. Nahum (d. 910), and others assiduously practiced the Slavonic liturgy and the Glagolitic script.[183]

In comparison with Vondrák's view, that of Frček seems closer to the mark: he generally placed the formation of the *ES* in the Bulgarian-Macedonian period of Old Church Slavonic, that is, into the tenth century.[184] Indeed, a comparison of the *ES*'s Offices of the Monastic Initiation with their most ancient Greek prototype suggests that the Slavonic elaboration should be dated more specifically to the second half of the tenth century.

Let us hope that future analyses of other sections of the text of the *Euchologium Sinaiticum* will make extensive use of that document's Greek models.

St. Josaphat's Monastery
Glen Cove, New York

[183] Theophylactus, Archiepiscopus Bulgarorum, "Vita S. Clementis," in J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca*, vol. 126 (Paris, n.d.), p. 1230; P. Lavrov, "Žitie sv. Nauma Oxridskogo i služba emu," *Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti* 12, bk. 4 (1908): 4.

[Dr. Bohdan Struminsky has observed that the cases of the *o* vocalization of the back *jer* in the *ES*, such as *besplotьnii* (fol. 84^{a}), *so mnoję* (85^{b}), *zovetъ* (85^{b}, 86^{a}), *ljuboviję* (86^{b}), etc., suggest a Macedonian origin for the *ES* manuscript; N. van Wijk, *Geschichte der altkirchenslavischen Sprache*, vol. 1: *Grundriß der slavischen Philologie und Kulturgeschichte* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1931), pp. 97, 99.]

[184] Frček, pt. 1, p. 625.

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The Emergence of the Podil and the Genesis of the City of Kiev: Problems of Dating*

VOLODYMYR I. MEZENTSEV

The urban territory of Kiev in the pre-Mongol period consisted of two main parts: the Upper City and the Lower City (figs. 1, 2).[1] The Upper City was situated on the heights of the right bank of the Dnieper, on the "Kiev Hills" of antiquity.[2] The Upper City comprised two central aristocratic districts, known in the literature as Volodimer's Town and Jaroslav's Town, as well as the relatively small trade and craft region called the "Kopyrev konec" (Kopyriv End) in the chronicles, and the separately fortified St. Michael's Monastery, also called Izjaslav-Svjatopolk's Town.[3] At the base of the Upper City, on the lower part of the right bank of the Dnieper, was the Lower City, known from princely times as the "Podil" (Podol).[4] This was the largest region of old Kiev, where the bulk of the city's trade and crafts population was concentrated.

In the 1970s and early 1980s the Podil was the focus of several major archaeological excavations. They have provided much valuable information on the settlement of the region and the trade and craft activity of its medieval population (fig. 3).[5] The results of these excavations were

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[1] Figures appear at the end of the article.

[2] See *Povest' vremennyx let*, ed. V. P. Adrianova-Peretc, pt. 1 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), p. 40. For an English text see *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, trans. and ed. Samuel H. Cross (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), pp. 164–65.

[3] These urban regions of old Kiev were named by modern scholars after the princes who built (fortified) them: Volodimer the Great, Jaroslav the Wise, Izjaslav Jaroslavyč, Svjatopolk Izjaslavyč.

[4] See *Povest' vremennyx let*, pt. 1, p. 40.

[5] Konstjantyn M. Hupalo and Petro P. Toločko, "Davn'okyjivs'kyj Podil u svitli novyx arxeolohičnyx doslidžen'," in *Starodavnij Kyjiv* (Kiev, 1975), pp. 40–79; Petro P. Toločko, Konstjantyn M. Hupalo, Viktor O. Xarlamov, "Rozkopky Kyjevopodolu 1973 r.," in *Arxeolohični doslidžennja starodavn'oho Kyjeva* (Kiev, 1976), pp. 19–46; Konstjantyn M. Hupalo, Hlib Ju. Ivakin, Myxajlo A. Sahajdak, "Doslidžennja Kyjivs'koho Podolu (1974–1975 rr.)," in *Arxeolohija Kyjeva: Doslidžennja i materialy* (Kiev, 1979), pp. 38–62; [P. P. Toločko et al., eds.] *Novoe v arxeologii Kieva* (Kiev, 1981), pp. 71–140, 425–50; Hlib Ju. Ivakin and L. Ja. Stepanenko, "Raskopki v severo-zapadnoj časti Podola v 1980–1982 gg.," in *Arxeologičeskie issledovanija Kieva 1978–1983 gg.* (Kiev, 1985), pp. 77–105.

presented by Konstjantyn Hupalo, leader of the excavation, in a monograph devoted to Kiev's Podil of the 9th to early 13th centuries.[6] Petro Toločko, the director of archaeological excavations in Kiev, has dedicated much attention to the study of the Podil in his works on old Kiev.[7] Various problems in the history of the Podil have also been considered by Mixail Tixomirov, Vladimir Mavrodin, I. Ja. Frojanov, Myxajlo Brajčevs'kyj, and Myxajlo Sahajdak. These researchers have been especially concerned with the problem of dating the emergence of the Podil. This question is of great importance in determining when Kiev became a mature, medieval city.

Scholars have yet to develop a generally accepted theoretical definition for the emergence, growth, maturation, and functions of the city as a whole, which would reasonably and consistently differentiate the city from other forms of settlement and community life.[8] Despite the difficulties of finding a satisfactory universal model for the city, a useful theoretical basis for the specific study of the city in Kievan Rus' is provided by the work of Tixomirov and, following his lead, V. Karlov and other scholars.[9] Their

[6] K. N. Hupalo (Gupalo), *Podol v drevnem Kieve* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1982).

[7] P. P. Toločko, *Istoryčna topohrafija starodavn'oho Kyjeva* (Kiev, 1970), pp. 129–38; idem, *Drevnij Kiev* (Kiev, 1976), pp. 81–84; idem, *Drevnij Kiev* (Kiev, 1983), pp. 50–60, 106–128.

[8] Numerous attempts have been made to give a universal definition for the phenomenon of the "town" and "city" that would be valid for urban centers of the ancient, medieval, and modern epochs and for various geographical areas. But no one definition has been generally accepted as satisfactory. See, for instance, Gideon Sjoberg, *The Pre-Industrial City: Past and Present* (Glencoe, Illinois, 1960), p. 11. Also see Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects* (New York, 1961), p. 3; Leonard Reissman, *The Urban Process: Cities in Industrial Societies* (London, 1964), pp. 150ff.; Peter J. Ucko, ed., *Man, Settlement, and Urbanism* (London, 1972), pp. 576ff., 843–49. The best known attempt to define a universal "full urban community" was made by Max Weber. His complete statement reads:

To constitute a full urban community a settlement must display a relative predominance of trade-commercial relations with the settlement as a whole, displaying the following features: (1) a fortification; (2) a market; (3) a court of its own and at least partially autonomous law; (4) a related form of association; and (5) at least partial autonomy and autocephaly, thus also an administration by authorities in the election of whom the burghers participated.

See Max Weber, *The City*, trans. and ed. Don Martindale and Gertrud Neuwirth (New York and London, 1968), p. 81. However, the scholarly consensus is that Weber's definition is fully applicable only to the cities of Western Europe, and that it fits the cities of Eastern Europe and Asia imperfectly at best. See A. H. Hourani, "The Islamic City in the Light of Recent Research," in *The Islamic City*, ed. A. H. Hourani and S. M. Stern (Oxford, 1970), pp. 13–16; J. Michael Hittle, *The Service City: State and Townsmen in Russia, 1600–1800* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1979), pp. 12–13, 18–19.

[9] See M. N. Tikhomirov (Tixomirov), *The Towns of Ancient Rus*, trans. I. Sdobinkov (Moscow, 1959), pp. 53–66; A. L. Xoroškevič, "Osnovnye itogi izučenija gorodov XI-pervoj poloviny XVII v.," in *Goroda feodal'noj Rossii* (Moscow, 1966), pp. 41–42; Pavel A. Rappoport, "O tipologii drevnerusskix poselenij," *Kratkie soobščenija Instituta arxeologii AN*

theoretical postulations have yet to be subjected to convincing criticism and seem to be quite valid, at least for the study of the larger cities of Rus', most notably Kiev.

For Tixomirov and his followers, the characteristic feature of the Old Rus' city was the combination of trade/craft, administrative, military, cultural, and religious functions in one complex. This complex of functions distinguished the city from other forms of Old Rus' settlement, including proto-cities or so-called embryonic cities. A settlement did not become a city in the proper sense of the term until it began to perform this multifaceted role, whether as the result of spontaneous developments or state sponsorship.

The manifestation of this urban maturation was the emergence in many old Rus' towns of a characteristic sociotopographic structure, consisting, on the one hand, of a central aristocratic region, called the *detinec* and later the *kreml'*, where sociopolitical urban functions were concentrated, and, on the other, of peripheral regions called *posady*, *peredgorod'ja*, or *ostrogi*, which were foci of trade and craft production.[10] In some early cities of Muscovy, this old division of urban territory into the *kreml'* and the *posady* was preserved as late as the 17th–18th century.[11] But this sociotopographic structure was not unique to the medieval cities of Eastern Europe. In early medieval Central Asian cities, a central area, called the *šahristān*, which comprised the citadel and chief mosques as well as the residences of the rulers and high officials, played a role quite similar to that of the *detinec/kreml'* of Rus' towns, whereas the peripheral commercial area, called the *rabaḍ*, was closely analogous to the *posad*.[12]

In the pre-Mongol period this urban sociotopographical structure was distinctive in Kiev and in many other cities of Rus', such as Černihiv, Perejaslav, Halyč, and Polack (with the notable exception of Novgorod the

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SSSR (Moscow), no. 110, (1967), pp. 3–9; V. V. Karlov, "O faktorax ėkonomičeskogo i političeskogo razvitija russkogo goroda v ėpoxu srednevekov'ja," in *Russkij gorod* (Moscow, 1976), pp. 32–69; M. G. Rabinovič, *Očerki ėtnografii russkogo feodal'nogo goroda* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 16–22, 281–82; A. V. Kuza, "O proisxoždenii drevnerusskix gorodov," *Kratkie soobščenija Instituta arxeologii AN SSSR* (Moscow), no. 171 (1982), pp. 9–15.

[10] Close scrutiny of the sociotopographic structure of Old Rus' cities has recently been done by Toločko: "O social'no-topografičeskoj strukture drevnego Kieva i drugix drevnerusskix gorodov," in *Arxeologičeskie issledovanija Kieva 1978–1983 gg.* (Kiev, 1985), pp. 5–18. About this city structure, see also Tikhomirov, *Towns of Ancient Rus*, pp. 44–53, 259–265; Rappoport, "O tipologii drevnerusskix poselenij," pp. 4–6; Rabinovič, *Očerki*, pp. 22–28.

[11] Hittle, *The Service City*, pp. 14, 97–166.

[12] See V. A. Lavrov, *Gradostroitel'naja kul'tura Srednej Azii: S drevnix vremen do vtoroj poloviny XIX veka* (Moscow, 1950), pp. 50–60, 66–93, 98–116; J. M. Rogers, "Sāmarra: A Study in Medieval Town Planning," in *The Islamic City*, p. 125.

Great).[13] The largest and most important *posad* of old Kiev was the Podil, the site of the numerous quarters of tradesmen and artisans, the colonies of foreign merchants, the main city market, and the commercial wharfs on the Dnieper and its tributary, the Počajna. Therefore, the time when the Podil emerged, according to scholarly consensus,[14] can directly reflect the date of the transformation of Kiev from a proto-town settlement into a true medieval city—that is, a center for trade and craft production.

This article examines and supplements existing ideas on the time when the *posad* district on the Podil emerged, in light of recent archaeological research. The intent is to determine a specific chronological boundary for the rise of Kiev as a town.

The opinions of scholars on the question of the dating of the primary settlement of the Podil vary substantially. In Tixomirov's view, this region emerged at the end of the 10th century,[15] whereas Mavrodin and Frojanov date its appearance to no earlier than the 11th century.[16] It should be stressed that these scholars stated their views before the Podil excavations of the 1970s, which uncovered the remnants of dwellings and trade/craft activity there dating to as early as the 9th century. Tixomirov, for one, based his dating on the earliest mention of the Podil in the Old Rus' chronicles, in the entry for 945: "At that time, the water flowed below the heights of Kiev [i.e., the Kiev Hills—V.M.], and the inhabitants did not live in the valley [the Podil—V.M.] but upon the heights."[17] Tixomirov had interpreted this text as evidence that Podil was not settled until the middle of the

13 Toločko, "O social'no-topografičeskoj strukture," pp. 11–17. It should be said, however, that even in old Kiev, as in other large Rus' cities, the sociotopographical separation between the aristocracy in the *detinec* and tradesmen and artisans in the *posad* was not absolute. Excavations have revealed that in many of these cities some boyar households were located in the peripheral *posad* district, whereas private domain crafts were traditionally developed within the princely, boyar, and monastic households in the central *detinec*. Nevertheless, the general distinction in socioeconomic functions between the *detinec* and the *posad* of Rus' cities remains valid, given that the majority of aristocratic households were concentrated in and dominated the first, and that the bulk of the trade and craft population was located in the second.

14 Boris D. Grekov, *Kiev Rus* (Moscow, 1959), pp. 133–44; Tikhomirov, *Towns of Ancient Rus*, pp. 44–53; V. V. Mavrodin, and I. Ja. Frojanov, "F. Èngel's ob osnovnyx ètapax razloženija rodovogo stroja i vopros o vozniknovenii gorodov na Rusi," *Vestnik Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* (Leningrad, 1970), no. 20, vol. 4, p. 11; Johan Callmer, "The Archaeology of Kiev ca. A.D. 500–1000: A Survey," in *Les Pays du Nord et Byzance (Scandinavie et Byzance), Actes du Colloque d'Upsala 20–22 April 1979*, ed. Rudolf Zeitler (Uppsala, 1981), p. 46.

15 Tikhomirov, *Towns of Ancient Rus*, pp. 17–18, 45–46.

16 Mavrodin and Frojanov, "F. Èngel's ob osnovnyx ètapax," p. 11.

17 *Russian Primary Chronicle*, trans. Cross, pp. 164–65; *Povest' vremennyx let*, pt. 1, p. 40.

10th century and that prior to that time the territory of Kiev was limited to the Upper City.[18]

Brajčevs'kyj, Toločko, and Sahajdak contend that the chronicle's passage refers to a temporary transfer of the population of the low-lying Podil to the Kiev Hills because of serious spring flooding of the Dnieper in 945.[19] Such an interpretation of the text seems to be quite obvious. Only at a time of serious spring flooding could the waters of the Dnieper flow along the Kiev Hills, as the chronicler has written: "At that time the water flowed below the heights of Kiev. . . ."

Brajčevs'kyj dates the beginning of Podil's formation (as well as the settlement of the Upper City) to the dawn of the Christian era, in accordance with his conception that Kiev emerged at that early time. He considers the archeological discovery in the Podil of Roman coins of the 2nd to 4th centuries A.D., Byzantine coins and amphoras of the 6th century, as well as early Slavic ceramics and jewelry of the 5th to 8th centuries to be evidence of the continuous settlement of the Podil since the beginning of the Christian era.[20]

Toločko is an advocate of the theory now dominant in Soviet historiography that Kiev arose as a city in the middle of the first millennium A.D. At first, in the 1970s, he maintained that the partial settlement of the Podil itself began as early as the 6th or 7th century.[21] However, in his latest book, *Drevnij Kiev*, Toločko, apparently influenced by the results of the recent excavations, writes that individual high points in the Podil were settled primarily from the 7th or 8th century, and that the emergence of this urban district (*posad*) can be dated to that time. His dating is based on archaeological finds such as fragments of early Slavic hand-molded and partly hand-molded pottery discovered during excavations at the Podil's Red Square, Žytnij Market, and Verxnij Val Street; some fragments he dates to the 7th–8th and 8th–9th centuries.[22]

In his recent monograph, Hupalo has provided a detailed consideration of the problem of dating the settlement on the Podil. Both chronicle and archaeological sources have influenced his analysis. Unfortunately,

18 Tikhomirov, *Towns of Ancient Rus*, pp. 18, 45–46.

19 M. Ju. Brajčevs'kyj (Brajčevskij), *Kogda i kak voznik Kiev* (Kiev, 1964), pp. 132–33; Toločko, *Istoryčna topohrafija*, pp. 71–72; idem, *Drevnij Kiev* (Kiev, 1976), p. 40–42; M. Sahajdak, "Pro ščo rozpovila stratyhrafija Podolu," *Znannja ta pracja* (Kiev), 1981, no. 3, p. 25.

20 Brajčevs'kyj, *Kogda i kak*, pp. 37–40, 132–33.

21 Toločko, *Istoryčna topohrafija*, p. 53–54; idem, "Proisxoždenie i rannee razvitie Kieva," *Istorija SSSR* (Moscow), 1982, no. 1, pp. 43, 48–49.

22 Toločko, *Drevnij Kiev* (Kiev, 1983), pp. 52, 55–56, 58. See also Toločko et al., *Novoe*, pp. 72, 77–78.

Hupalo's speculations concerning the text of the chronicle entry for 945 about the Podil are indefinite and contradictory. In one instance, he attempts to challenge the reasonable interpretation of the passage as referring to a temporary transfer of the population of the Podil to the Upper City due to the flooding of the Dnieper.[23] In other places, however, he asserts that in 945 the Podil was inundated by the spring flooding of the Dnieper, in accordance with the chronicles and the archaeological data.[24] Despite these inconsistencies, we can agree wholeheartedly with Hupalo that the dating of the settlement of the Podil can be determined not on the basis of the chronicle (as in Tixomirov's analysis), but by the data of the excavations of the region in the 1970s and 1980s. This archaeological research has, as Hupalo correctly asserts, convincingly shown that the Podil has been settled continuously since at least the end of the 9th century. The earliest date provided by the dendrochronological analysis of the log-frame dwellings uncovered on the Podil is 887.[25] Hupalo contends that by the end of the 10th century, the core area of the Podil had already been inhabited.[26] He also argues that this area of the Podil could not have been settled before the 9th century.[27] Hupalo's argument, which is of special interest to us, can be summarized as follows.

Hupalo demonstrates the dubious value as a historical source of the information about the discoveries in the Podil of 2nd- to 4th- century Roman coins, 6th-century Byzantine coins and amphoras, and 5th- to 8th-century early Slavic ceramics and decorations. Precisely these unreliable sources served as evidence for dating the settlement of the Podil to the beginning of the Christian era (in Brajčevs'kyj's thesis) and to the 6th–7th century (in Toločko's work). Hupalo argues that these isolated, chance finds cannot be accepted as evidence about the settlement of the Podil before the 9th century. These artifacts came either from 1st–4th century and 5th–6th century settlements on the low Dnieper bank north of the Podil, the area called the Obolon'; or else from 1st–4th century and 5th–8th century settlements in the Upper City. From there—that is, from the Kiev Hills—these artifacts could have been carried down to the Podil by drainage waters, in part by the Hlubočycja River. Neither remnants of

23 Hupalo, *Podol*, pp. 14–15.
24 Hupalo, *Podol*, pp. 11, 17, 25.
25 Hupalo, *Podol*, p. 15.
26 Hupalo, *Podol*, p. 33.
27 Hupalo, *Podol*, p. 29.

buildings, nor cultural layers, nor any other substantial traces of habitation before the 9th century have been uncovered anywhere on the Podil.[28]

Relying on the results of new geological and archaeological digs in the Podil, Hupalo conjectures that until the end of the first millennium A.D. its territory was simply not suitable for settlement. From ancient times through the early medieval period, the territory of the Podil was primarily a very low-lying river bank (even lower than the floodlands of the neighboring Obolon') with extremely moist soil. For example, in the 9th–10th century, when the core area of the Podil was settled, at its lowest central point the surface was 12 to 13 meters below its present level.[29] Therefore, in antiquity, the Podil was frequently and for long periods of time inundated by the spring floods of the Dnieper. The later elevation of the territory was due to intensive deluvial accumulations (the soil carried down from the ravines of the Kiev Hills), and, especially, alluvial deposits (the silt carried by the flood waters of the Dnieper and its tributaries). In the course of the 10th–12th centuries the elevation of the Podil' territory rose at an exceptionally swift pace. Thus, at its lowest point (Red Square), the surface of the Podil was by the beginning of the 12th century eleven meters higher than it had been at the beginning of the 10th. Since then this part of the Podil has risen only two meters.[30] So, according to Hupalo, it was the elevation of the Podil that made possible the formation of an urban district there not earlier than the 9th–10th century.[31]

Hupalo's research has revealed that a millennium ago the relief of the Podil was not as flat as it is today. In the early Middle Ages its terrain consisted of three riverside terraces. Lowest of these was a flood basin constantly washed by the waters of the Dnieper. Somewhat higher was the first supra-floodland terrace. Seven or eight meters above this middle level, at the foot of the Kiev Hills, was the higher, second supra-floodland terrace. The middle terrace comprised most of the territory of the Podil. In ancient times the surface of this terrace, beginning at today's Post Office Square at the southern border of the Podil, declined to 12 or 13 meters below the present level at today's Red Square in the center of the Podil, and went up 2

[28] Hupalo, *Podol*, pp. 29–31. See also K. M. Hupalo, "Do pytannja pro formuvannja posadu davn'oho Kyjeva," in *Arxeolohični doslidžennja starodavn'oho Kyjeva* (Kiev, 1976), pp. 16–18.
[29] Sahajdak, "Pro ščo rozpovila stratyhrafija," p. 25.
[30] Sahajdak, "Pro ščo rozpovila stratyhrafija," p. 25.
[31] Hupalo, *Podol*, pp. 18–21, 30.

or 3 meters towards contemporary Verxnij Val Street and further northward to the Obolon'.[32]

The excavations of the 1970s–1980s have uncovered on the Podil remnants—the lower rows of logs—of approximately 60 log-frame dwellings of the 9th to 13th century (figs. 6a, b). The extreme moisture of the soil of the Podil and great depth of bedding of these artifacts ensured their good preservation. This allowed for dendrochronological dating of the uncovered log structures. It was carried out by Sahajdak at the Institute of Archaeology of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Dendrochronological analysis enabled Sahajdak to propose exact dates of construction—accurate within one year—for more than thirty of Podil's dwellings.[33] According to the published results of this research, the oldest of these log buildings in the various parts of the Podil date from the end of the 9th to the 11th century.

In the western part of the Podil, on the higher, supra-floodland terrace at the foot of the Kiev Hills, for log dwellings uncovered at Žytnij Market, dendrochronology has provided the following dates of construction: 887, 918, 1033, and later. In the central area of the Podil on the middle terrace, at Verxnij Val Street, the oldest dwellings have been dated to 900, 901, 903, 904; on Nyžnij Val Street, to 901 and 924; and on Red Square, to 913, 972, 975, 983, and later. In the southern Podil on the middle terrace, dwellings excavated at Ždanov Street, near the Post Office Square, have been dated through dendrochronology to 1054, 1055, 1065, and later.[34]

Hupalo also mentions in his monograph that at Žytnij Market, in excavations of the lower cultural layers, pieces of partly hand-molded ceramics were found among fragments of Old Rus' wheel-thrown pottery. He supposes that such finds of partly hand-molded ceramics uncovered in the

[32] Hupalo, *Podol*, pp. 18–20; see also Sahajdak, "Pro ščo rozpovila stratyhrafija," p. 25.

[33] For a description of this dendrochronological research see: Myxajlo A. Sahajdak, "Do pytannja absoljutnoho datuvannja arxeolohičnoho materialu starodavn'oho Kyjeva," in *Arxeolohični doslidžennja starodavn'oho Kyjeva*, pp. 56–62; idem, "Dendroxronolohični doslidžennja derev"janyx budivel' Podolu," in *Arxeolohija Kyjeva: Doslidžennja i materialy* (Kiev, 1979), pp. 62–69; Toločko et al., *Novoe*, pp. 425–50; idem, "Pro ščo rozpovila stratyhrafija Podolu," *Znannja ta pracja* (Kiev), 1981, no. 3, pp. 24–25; Hupalo, *Podol*, pp. 25–29. We should say in addition that the methodology for absolute dendrochronological dating of Podil's structures applied by Sahajdak is experimental, and he states his own conclusions with some caution. However, up to now no scholar has contested Sahajdak's findings. They were accepted as valid by such students of old Kiev such as Toločko, Hupalo, and Ivakin. Sahajdak's methods of dendrochronological dating of Podil's buildings appear to be reliable. Moreover, his results agree with the dating of these buildings deduced from archaeological finds such as ceramics and coins. Therefore, I feel justified in using his dendrochronological dates in researching the primary Podil settlement.

[34] See Toločko et al., *Novoe*, pp. 449–50; Sahajdak, "Pro ščo rozpovila stratyhrafija," p. 25; Hupalo, *Podol*, pp. 25–28.

western highest part of the Podil are evidence of the relatively earlier time of settlement there in comparison with other areas of the Podil.[35] Nevertheless, Hupalo, unlike Toločko, does not attempt to date these partly hand-molded ceramics, or the initial settling of the Podil, to any earlier time than the oldest log constructions of the late 9th century.

A close examination of available information on these recently discovered hand-molded and partly hand-molded ceramics helps in evaluating Toločko's attempt to date these artifacts to the 7th–8th and 8th–9th centuries and to use them as evidence of the settlement of the Podil since that time. Unfortunately, published information about these ceramics is limited. Although Toločko dates them in his works, he does not attribute them to a specific archaeological culture. Only in describing the fragments found at the Žytnij Market excavations does he mention that they are coarse, rude, partly hand-molded, and decorated with a pectinate pattern, and that they were found in the lowest, or earliest, cultural layers. In his most recent book, *Drevnij Kiev*, Toločko states that this type of ceramic was current in Kiev in the 8th–9th century.[36] In his earlier work, however, he writes that these ceramics could hardly have occurred in Kiev earlier than the 9th century.[37] Most probably, judging by their description, these partly hand-molded ceramics from Žytnij Market (3 fragments) are depicted in the table of illustrations of ceramic finds uncovered in the Podil in 1973 (fig. 4).[38]

In *Drevnij Kiev*, Toločko mentions that in excavations of the lower cultural layers at Red Square, alongside Old Rus' wheel-thrown pottery of the 9th–10th century, fragments of hand-molded ceramics were also found, but he does not describe or date these.[39] However, in his earlier work, Toločko dates these fragments to the 8th century.[40]

Toločko informs us that at the excavations at Verxnij Val Street fragments of hand-molded ceramics were uncovered at the lowest cultural layer, above the subsoil, and that they are dark and relatively thin-walled, with a high percentage of chamotte in their ceramic clay. In *Drevnij Kiev*, he merely dates the currency of such ceramics in Kiev to the 7th-8th cen-

35 Hupalo, *Podol*, pp. 28, 32.
36 Toločko, *Drevnij Kiev* (1983), p. 55.
37 Toločko et al., *Novoe*, p. 77.
38 P. P. Toločko, K. M. Hupalo, and V. O. Xarlamov, "Rozkopky Kyjevopodolu 1973 r.," in *Arxeolohični doslidžennja starodavn'oho Kyjeva*, p. 43, and fig. 14.
39 Toločko, *Drevnij Kiev* (1983), p. 52.
40 Toločko et al., *Novoe*, p. 72.

tury.[41] In his earlier work, however, he added the observation that this style of ceramic could have occurred at Kiev, as a vestigial form, as late as the 9th century.[42]

Most likely, it is these hand-molded and partly hand-molded ceramics discovered in the lower cultural layers of the Podil in the 1970s that are mentioned in the collective work of the Kiev Archaeological Expedition. There they are characterized as being of the "Romny type"[43] —in other words, as being similar to the ceramics of the Romny archaeological culture dated to the 8th–10th century. In one article, Hupalo, too, attributes the hand-molded pottery uncovered at Žytnij Market, Red Square, and other points in the Podil to the Romny culture.[44]

Judging by Toločko's descriptions and illustrations (fig. 4), the fragments of partly hand-molded pottery found at Žytnij Market do indeed have the characteristic features of ceramics of the Romny culture, which dominated the Left-Bank Dnieper area (the Eastern Ukraine) in the 8th–10th centuries. It is crucial to note, however, that the Romny-type ceramics—both hand-molded and partly hand-molded (that is, made on a primitive potter's wheel and half-shaped by hand)—were still in use in the western areas of the Dnieper Left Bank, bordering on the Kiev region, in the 10th century; also, in the eastern areas of the Left Bank, this type of ceramic existed as late as the early 11th century.[45] Thus, the Romny-type ceramics could well have occurred in Kiev in the 9th–10th century, and have been in use alongside Old Rus' wheel-thrown pottery.

In dating the hand-molded ceramics of Verxnij Val Street to the 7th–8th century, Toločko may be attributing them to the Volyncevo type. Artifacts of this type were found over a territory close to that of the Romny culture on the Left Bank and also in the Kiev region (in the town of Obuxiv and the village of Xodosivka).[46] Volyncevo-type artifacts, as well as those of the Romny culture, have been uncovered in Kiev proper.[47] A number of specialists in early Slavic archaeology, including some Kiev researchers, maintained that monuments of the Volyncevo type predate the Romny culture

[41] Toločko, *Drevnij Kiev* (1983), pp. 56, 58.
[42] Toločko et al., *Novoe*, p. 78.
[43] Toločko et al., *Novoe*, p. 11.
[44] Hupalo, "Do pytannja pro formuvannja posadu davn'oho Kyjeva," p. 15.
[45] Oleg V. Suxobokov, *Slavjane Dneprovskogo Levoberež'ja* (Kiev, 1975), pp. 75, 83, 86.
[46] Oleh M. Pryxodnjuk, *Arxeolohični pam''jatky Seredn'oho Prydniprov'ja VI–IX st. n.e.* (Kiev, 1980), pp. 10, 74, 76, 136, 140.
[47] Toločko, *Istoryčna topohrafija*, p. 41; idem, *Drevnij Kiev* (1983), p. 33.

and that they belong to the 7th–8th century.[48] It could be that Toločko shares this view, dating the hand-molded ceramics uncovered at Verxnij Val Street to that time. However, it must be taken into consideration that the dating of the Volyncevo-type antiquities is still debated. Some scholars have come to the conclusion that the Volyncevo type was concurrent with the early stage of the Romny culture and dates to the 8th–9th century.[49]

If the hand-molded and partly hand-molded ceramics found on the Podil really belong to the Romny culture and Volyncevo type, then Toločko's initial idea of the possible currency of these ceramics in Kiev in the 9th century would seem to be quite reasonable. However, Toločko's recent attempts to push the dating of these ceramics as well as the primary settling of the Podil, to the 7th–8th century, are merely speculative. On the other hand, there are data that add weight to the view that the hand-molded and partly hand-molded ceramics under consideration were contemporary with Old Rus' archaeological monuments of the Podil of the 9th and 10th centuries.

It is important that the ceramics associated with the Romny and Volyncevo cultures were uncovered not only at Žytnij Market on the second supra-floodland terrace, the highest part of the Podil, which both Toločko and Hupalo rightly consider the earliest settled and where the oldest log dwellings, dated to 887, was discovered. They were also found in the central Podil, on the first supra-floodland terrace, which was 7–8 meters lower than the second one and was therefore probably settled later. The central part of the Podil was most likely settled from the early 10th century, judging by the dates of the oldest log dwellings uncovered at three locations there. The earliest dwelling in Verxnij Val Street dates dendrochronologically to 900; the earliest on Nyžnij Val, to 901; and the earliest on Red Square, to 913. It is also significant that in the lowest part of the Podil, on Red Square,[50] like in the highest at Žytnij Market,[51] these hand-molded and partly hand-molded ceramics at the lowest cultural layers were found alongside presumably contemporary Old Rus' wheel-thrown pottery of the 9th–10th century. All of the above suggests most strongly that the hand-

[48] D. T. Berezovec', "Do pytannja pro litopysnyx siverjan," in *Arxeolohija* (Kiev), 8 (1953): 32–38; idem, "Doslidžennja slov"jans'kyx pam"jatok na Sejmi v 1949–1950 rr.," *Arxeolohični pam"jatky URSR* (Kiev), 5 (1955): 49; Suxobokov, *Slavjane Dneprovskogo Levoberez'ja*, pp. 55–57, 137–38; Petr N. Tret"jakov, *Po sledam drevnix slavjanskix plemen* (Leningrad, 1982), p. 132.

[49] Ivan I. Ljapuškin, *Slavjane Vostočnoj Evropy nakanune obrazovanija Drevnerusskogo gosudarstva: VIII–pervaja polovina IX v.* (Leningrad, 1968), pp. 61–62; Evgenij A. Gorjunov, *Rannie ètapy istorii slavjan Dneprovskogo Levoberež'ja* (Leningrad, 1981), pp. 89–90.

[50] Toločko et al., *Novoe*, p. 72.

[51] Hupalo, *Podol*, p. 28.

molded and partly hand-molded ceramics discovered on the Podil in the 1970s date to the 9th–10th century and not, as Toločko argues, to the 7th–8th.

There is, moreover, yet another argument to suggest that the territory of the Podil, including its highest parts, could not have been settled before the 9th century. As a rule, the carriers of the Volyncevo and Romny cultures, as well as the Luka Rajkovec'ka and the other early Slavic archaeological cultures which inhabited the mid-Dnieper and Kiev territory before the 9th–10th century, lived in semi-dugout dwellings, that is, ones with foundations set deep into the ground (fig. 5). Surface dwellings were atypical and, in fact, very rare in early Slavic archaeological cultures.[52] For example, all dwellings uncovered on early Slavic settlements of the 5th to 8th centuries in Kiev's Upper City are without exception semi-dugouts.[53] In medieval times, on the other hand, only surface dwellings were built in the Podil, according to archaeological evidence. The construction of dwellings with foundations set in the earth was impossible there because of the great moisture of the soil and the closeness to the surface of the water table, which made semidugout living unfeasible in the Podil.[54] Thus, without exception the approximately sixty 9th–13th century dwellings unearthed in the Podil have been surface log-frame constructions (fig. 6a, b).[55] Even in the highest western part of the Podil, at the foot of the Kiev Hills, no ancient dugouts have been found. At the same time, however, in the Upper City semidugout dwellings were quite common in the 9th to 13th century, along with surface log-frame and post-and-frame constructions.[56]

The spread of surface log-frame constructions, such as those found in the Podil, Kiev, and other cities of the mid-Dnieper region, is chronologically associated with the existence there of the Old Rus' (or Kievan Rus') archaeological culture of the 9th to 13th century.[57] Therefore, it is

52 Ljapuškin, *Slavjane Vostočnoj Evropy*, pp.128–31; Suxobokov, *Slavjane Dneprovskogo Levoberežja*, pp. 50–51, 60–70; Pryxodnjuk, *Arxeolohični pam''jatky*, pp. 19–28.

53 Stefanija R. Kylyjevyč (Kilievič), *Detinec Kieva IX–pervoj poloviny XIII vekov: Po materialam arxeologičeskix issledovanij* (Kiev, 1982), p. 28.

54 Hupalo, *Podol*, p. 21.

55 Toločko et al., *Novoe*, pp. 91–103; Hupalo, *Podol*, pp. 42–43.

56 Mixail K. Karger, *Drevnij Kiev*, vol. 1 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1958), pp. 285–364; Toločko et al., *Novoe*, 80–91; M. Sahajdak (Sagajdak), *Velikij gorod Jaroslava* (Kiev, 1982), pp. 89–92.

57 In archaeology, this designation is used to characterize the whole complex of material culture created by the population of the Kievan state. In the Middle Dnieper region, which was the economic, political, and cultural nucleus of the Kievan state, the Old Rus' archaeological culture became dominant in the 9th century. This culture in many respects displays a higher level of development when compared to earlier East Slavic archaeological cultures. See *Arxeolohija Ukrajins'koji RSR* (Kiev), 3 (1975): 178–421.

reasonable to assume that for the previous (pre-9th-century) population of Kiev—that is, for the carriers of the Volyncevo, Romny, Luka Rajkovec'ka and earlier archaeological cultures—the low-lying territory of the Podil, with its moist earth, was not suitable for habitation, given that these cultures were characterized by dugout dwellings. It seems not coincidental, then, that the fruitful archaeological research of the 1970s–1980s in the Podil has uncovered only constructions from the Kievan Rus' period of the 9th–13th centuries and no plausible evidence of earlier settlement. Thus, in my opinion, the settlement of the Podil commenced not only because deluvial and aluvial deposits had raised the surface of the region by the 9th century, as Hupalo argues, but, much more importantly, because from the 9th century the Old Rus' culture, marked by the new constructive type of mass urban dwelling, that is, surface log buildings, spread in Kiev. Dwellings of this type have been found throughout the territory of 9th–13th century Old Rus', not only in Kiev, but in Novgorod the Great, Old Ladoga, Beloozero, Polack, Pskov, and Berestja (Brest).

All of the above argues against Brajčevs'kyj's theory that Kiev's Podil was settled at the dawn of the first millennium A.D.., and challenges Toločko's view that this urban region emerged in the 6th–7th or 7th–8th century. I conclude that the latest archaeological research supports Hupalo's idea that the core area of the Podil could not have been settled before the 9th century. This view is also developed and supported by the following conclusions.

I contend that the settlement of the Podil, including its highest part, the second supra-floodland terrace, began in the 9th century proper with the spread to Kiev at that time of the Old Rus' culture with its characteristic construction of surface log dwellings. It seems quite plausible that the dendrochronological dates obtained for the earliest log dwellings uncovered in the Podil actually reflect the time of the primary settling of the area. So, at the end of the 9th century, settlement of the western, most elevated part of the Podil, began. Here, at the base of the Kiev Hills, the earliest dwelling yet found dates to 887. The lower, central part of the Podil was settled from the beginning of the 10th century. Here the earliest log buildings date to 900, 901, and 913.

It is crucial to note that available archaeological evidence allows for concrete discussion of not just the settlement of the Podil, but also for the development of trade and crafts there only from the 9th–10th century. The recent excavations show that the 9th–13th century settlement of the Podil was a true trade/craft *posad* of old Kiev, and that it had this character from the very beginnings of its existence. Besides remains of log dwellings, ancient imported goods (including 10th-century Byzantine coins) testifying

to international commercial contacts have been unearthed there.[58] Excavations have uncovered remnants of workshops, numerous products by the Podil's artisans, as well as traces of iron metallurgy, blacksmithing, jewelry, ceramics, bone carving, stone carving, wood-working production, and other kinds of Old Rus' urban crafts. The earliest archaeological relics of the trade and craft activity at the Podil date to the 9th–10th century.[59]

According to Hupalo, the Podil's 180 to 200 hectares of land suitable for settlement were basically inhabited by the end of the 10th century.[60] Such an intensive and rapid formation of this trade/craft *posad* of old Kiev in the course of the 9th–10th century clearly testifies to the vigorous development of the economic functions of the city in this period. At the same time that the wide expanse of the Podil was being settled by traders and artisans, the area of the Upper City also underwent a period of intense growth, coalescing to form the sociopolitical center, or *detinec*, of old Kiev.

In the light of recent research, the formation of the Upper City was preceded by a group of early Slavic unfortified settlements on the Kyselivka, Dytynka, Ščekavycja and Lysa Hills, and a small fortified refuge of approximately two hectares on the promontory of the Starokyjivs'ka Hill. This complex was formed at the end of the 5th–6th century. However, no noticeable manifestations of the process of city formation are evident before the 9th–10th century, the time when the Old Rus' archaeological culture spread to Kiev. It is only from this time that, as in the Podil, in the Upper City, especially on the plateau of the Starokyjivs'ka Hill, an intensive concentration of population is in evidence.

Thus, the works of Toločko and Stefanija Kylyjevyč have shown that before the first *detinec* of Kiev—Volodimer's Town, ca. 10 hectares in area—was built by Volodimer the Great at the end of the 10th century on the Starokyjivs'ka Hill, this territory had already been settled in the course of the 9th–10th century.[61] The excavations of the 1970s have determined that the trade/craft region of the Kopyriv End (ca. 40 hectares)[62] also

58 P. P. Toločko, "Pro torhovel'ni zv"jazky Kyjeva z krajinamy Arabs'koho Sxodu ta Vizantijeju u VIII–X st.," in *Arxeolohični doslidžennja starodavn'oho Kyjeva*, pp. 6–11; Toločko et al., *Novoe*, pp. 359, 361–66; Hupalo, *Podol*, p. 24.

59 Toločko et al., *Novoe*, pp. 268–269; 301–308, 318–34; Hupalo, *Podol*, pp. 65–66, 68, 74–75, 78–79, 88.

60 Hupalo, *Podol*, pp. 33, 107.

61 Kylyjevyč, *Detinec Kieva*, pp. 48–49; Toločko, *Drevnij Kiev* (1983), pp. 34–42.

62 The area of the Kopyriv End was defined by Toločko; see his *Istoryčna topohrafija*, p. 173; idem, *Drevnij Kiev* (1983), p. 184. However, recent research suggests that at least in the 11th–13th centuries this urban region was half as large as Toločko maintains. See Sahajdak, *Velikij gorod Jaroslava*, pp. 52–53; and also my review of this book, to be published in *Recenzija: A Review of Soviet Ukrainian Scholarly Publications* (Cambridge, Mass.).

emerged in the 10th century.[63] In the mid-10th century began the partial settlement of the territory on which Jaroslav the Wise in ca. 1037 would build his new, expansive *detinec*, Jaroslav's Town (ca. 60–70 hectares).[64]

Beginning in the 9th–10th century, these settlements of the Upper City began to perform urban sociopolitical functions, that is, to be the site of the central administrative organs of old Kiev. From that time the chronicles and archaeological evidence indicate the placement in the Upper City of the residences and burial sites of the princely, boyar, and military (*družina*) elite,[65] as well as of the central religious institutions—pagan ritual sites[66] and later (after the conversion to Christianity in 988) cathedral churches and other stone edifices.[67] In the 10th century the Kopyriv End and Volodimer's Town were fortified, and in the 11th century the defensive lines of Jaroslav's Town and Izjaslav-Svjatopolk's Town were erected. Thus, near the mid-11th century, during the reigns in Kiev of Jaroslav the Wise and his son Izjaslav Jaroslavyč, the various regions of the Upper City coalesced and their defensive system was completed. It was probably at this time, under Jaroslav the Wise, that the Podil reached its maximum extent and was fortified. Therefore, under Jaroslav, both of the constituent parts of old Kiev—the Upper City and the Lower City—were united by a common city defense system.[68]

In summation, the material presented above shows that the process of the formation of the territory of the trade/craft district, or *posad*, in the Podil (the Lower City) and the sociopolitical center, or *detinec*, on the Kiev Hills (the Upper City) took place concurrently. This process began with the appearance in Kiev of the Old Rus' archaeological culture in the 9th century and continued through the mid-11th century. The beginnings of this process in the 9th–10th century reflect the transformation of Kiev at that time from a group of settlements of the proto-urban type (a city-embryo) to a true medieval city—a center of crafts, trade, and sociopolitical administration.

63 Sahajdak, *Velikij gorod*, p. 53.

64 Sahajdak, *Velikij gorod*, p. 17.

65 See the *Russian Primary Chronicle*, trans. Cross, p. 165; Karger, *Drevnij Kiev*, 1:263–267.

66 P. P. Toločko and Ja. Je. Borovs'kyj, "Jazyčnyc'ke kapyšče v 'gorodi' Volodymyra," in *Arxeolohija Kyjeva: Doslidžennja i materialy* (Kiev, 1979), pp. 3–10.

67 Toločko, *Drevnij Kiev* (1983), pp. 33–50, 60–62.

68 I consider the question of the formation of Kiev's Upper and Lower Cities in a separate article, entitled "The Territorial and Demographical Development of Old Kiev and Other Major Rus' Cities: A Comparative Analysis Based on Recent Archeological Research" (in preparation).

This conclusion, based on the latest archaeological research of old Kiev, concurs with the theory about the time of the city's formation recently advanced by Omeljan Pritsak, who worked with the written sources on early medieval Kiev and the problem of the origin of Kievan Rus' as a whole. According to Pritsak, the rise of Kiev as a city and its evolution into the largest commercial and political center of Rus' could not have occurred before the 9th century.[69] It was precisely at this time that Kiev entered the world arena and was drawn into the economic and political life of Eurasia, becoming the commercial intermediary between Western Europe, Byzantium, Khazaria, and the Arab East. In Pritsak's convincing analysis, the impetus for the city's emergence was the rise, in the second half of the 9th century, of international trade on the Dnieper—the "highway from the Varangians to the Greeks" according to the chronicles—and the beginning of broad contacts between Kiev and a reinvigorated Constantinople.[70] Kiev benefited from its advantageous position on the Dnieper trade route. Henri Pirenne also dated the birth of Kiev as a city and of the whole Kievan Rus' state to the 9th century. He likewise associated its rise with the growth at that time of the Dnieper trade and the connections of Rus' with Byzantium.[71]

In his survey of the archaeological materials of early medieval Kiev, Johan Callmer dated the transformation of Kiev from the proto-urban to the urban phase of development to ca. 900.[72] In particular, the analysis of old Kiev's trade imports, such as Oriental and Byzantine coin finds, led him to conclude that "the end of the 9th or the turn of the 10th century is a critical period of change in the economic development of Kiev."[73] Before the results of Sahajdak's dendrochronological research were published, Callmer expressed the hope that dendrochronology of the log structures uncovered in the Podil trade/craft district in the 1970s would give the same, or even a more precise date, for the beginning of the economic development of Kiev.[74] Callmer's dating of the city's origin, using his own methods based on archaeological materials, is indeed very close to the dates I derive from the results published in 1982 of dendrochronology of the Podil's structures.

69 Omeljan Pritsak, *The Origin of Rus'* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), pp. 30–31, 210; see also Norman Golb and Omeljan Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y., and London, 1982), pp. 44, 50, 53, 55.
70 Pritsak, *Origin of Rus'*, pp. 30–31.
71 Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade* (Princeton, 1946), pp. 47–52.
72 Callmer, "Archaeology of Kiev," pp. 47–48.
73 Callmer, "Archaeology of Kiev," p. 46.
74 Callmer, "Archaeology of Kiev," p. 46.

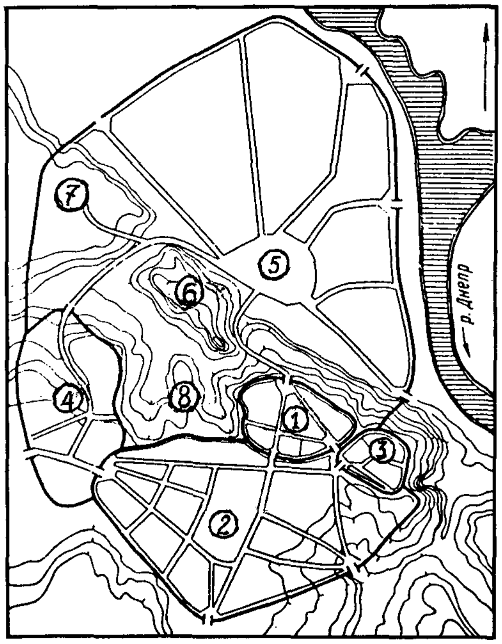
The time of the emergence of the Podil, the center of Kiev's trade and craft activity, which I date to the end of the 9th century, can serve as a concrete chronological boundary marking the transformation of Kiev into a mature medieval city.

Harvard University

Translated from the Ukrainian by Leonid Heretz

Fig. 1.

Reconstructive plan of the urban territory (districts) of Kiev in the 11th–13th centuries. By Petro Toločko, in P. P. Toločko et al., eds. *Arxeologičeskie issledovanija Kieva 1978–1983 gg.* (Kiev, 1985), p. 10, fig. 2.



1. Volodimer's Town
2. Jaroslav's Town
3. Izjaslav-Svjatopolk's Town (or St. Michael's Monastery)
4. Kopyriv End
5. Podil (Podol)
6. Kyselivka (Castle) Hill
7. Ščekavycja Hill
8. Dytynka Hill

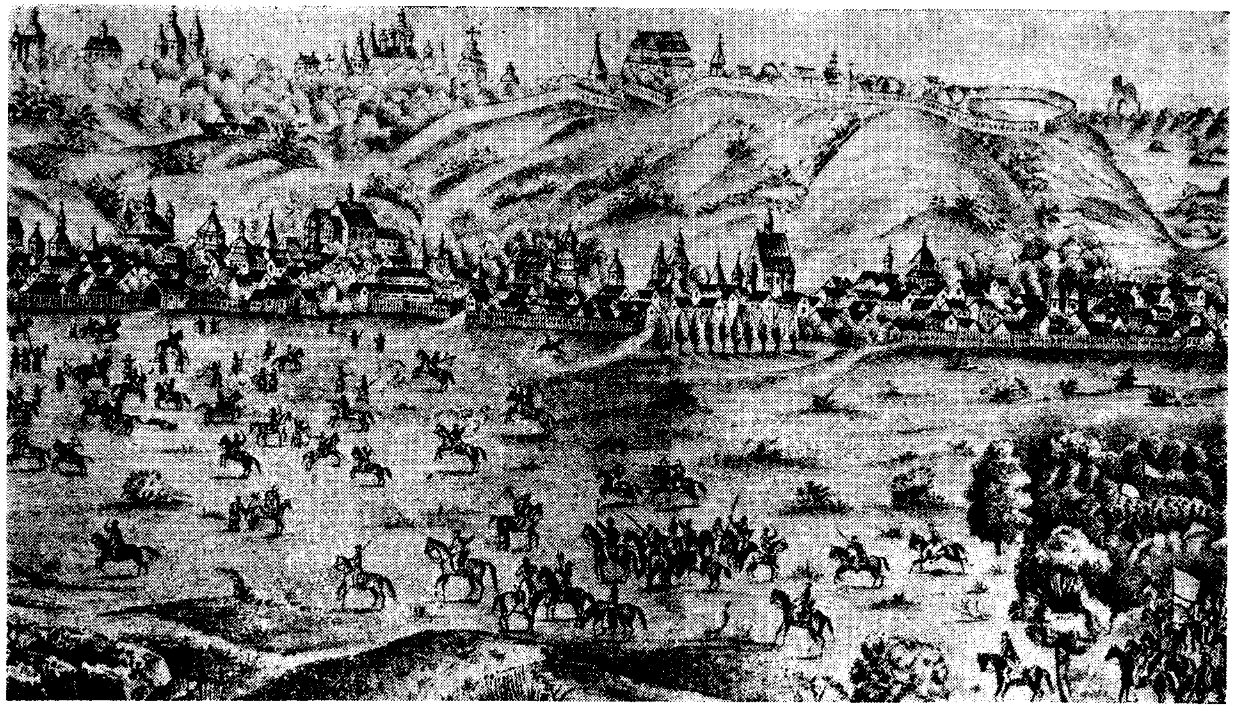
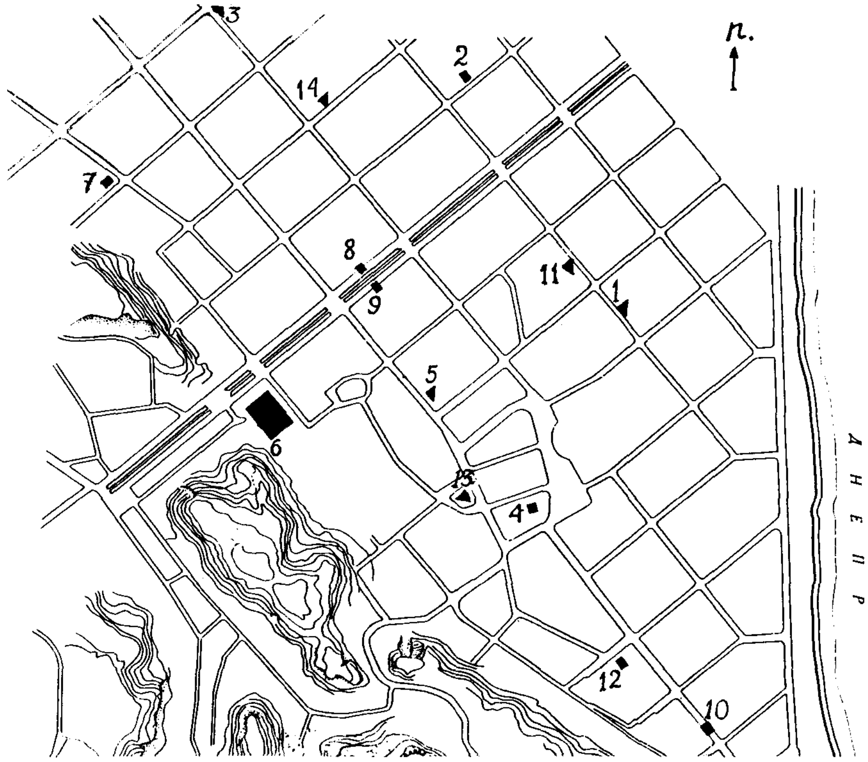


Fig. 2.

A view of the Podil (Lower City) and the "Kiev Hills" (Upper City) in the year 1651. Drawing by Abraham van Westerveldt (1651).

Fig. 3.

Sites of the main archaeological excavations made in the Podil in 1950–1982. By Petro Toločko (1981) and Konstjantyn Hupalo (1982).[75]



1. 14 Volos'ka Street, 1950
2. 41–43 Jaroslavs'ka Street, 1969
3. 25 Obolons'ka Street, 1969
4. Red Square, 1971–73
5. Herojiv Trypillja–Xoreva Streets, 1972–73
6. Žytnij Market, 1973–74
7. 17 Frunze Street, 1974
8. Nyžnij Val Street, 1974
9. 30 Verxnij Val Street, 1975
10. 6–8 Ždanov Street, 1975
11. 17 Volos'ka Street, 1974–75
12. 4 Andrijivs'ka Street, 1976–77
13. Square near Hostynnyj Dvir, 1976–78
14. 25–27 Ščekavyc'ka Street, 1981–82

[75] For a more detailed plan of Podil's excavations in the 1950–1980s, see K. N. Hupalo (Gupalo), *Podol v drevnem Kieve* (Kiev, 1982), pp. 12–13. For a general plan of main excavations made by the Kiev Archaeological Expedition in various districts of Kiev in 1965–78, see [P. P. Toločko et al., eds.], *Novoe v arxeologii Kieva* (Kiev, 1981), pp. 8–9.

Fig. 4.

Ceramic fragments found on the lower cultural layer in the 1973 archaeological excavations at Žytnij Market in the Podil. Among them are three fragments (a, b, c) of Romny culture pottery; all others belong to the Old Rus' culture. In P. P. Toločko et al., eds., *Arxeologični doslidžennja starodavn'oho Kyjeva* (Kiev, 1976), p. 43, fig. 16.

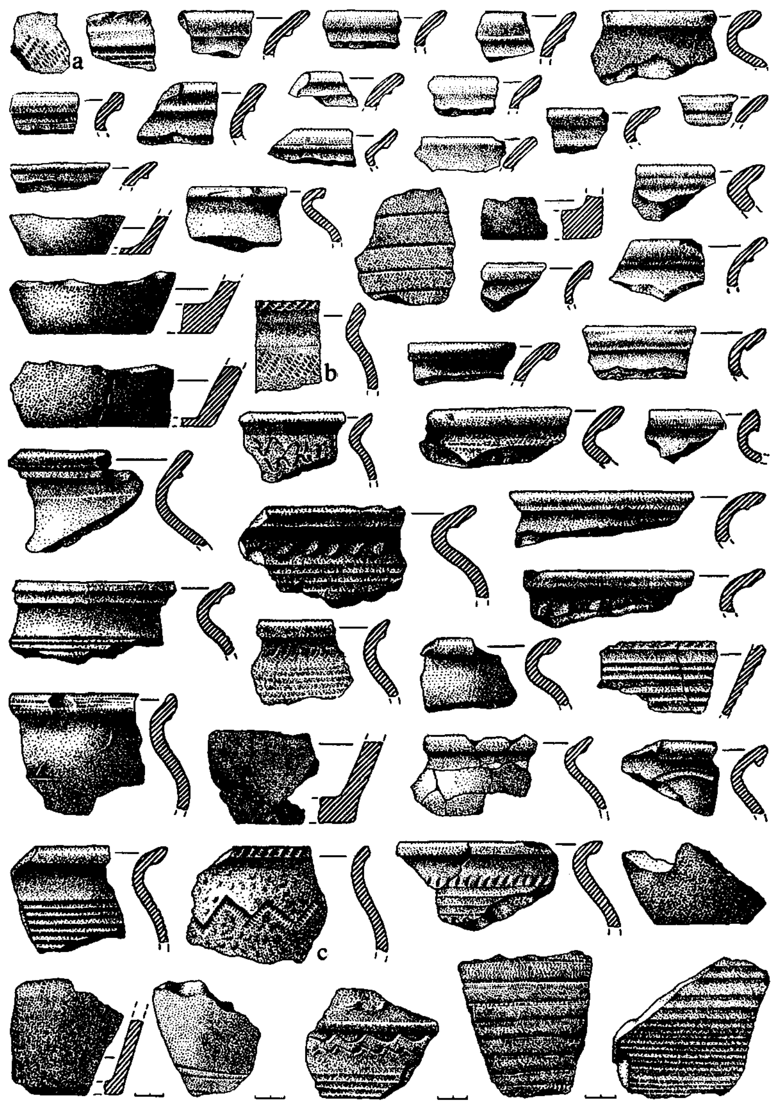


Fig. 5.

Reconstruction of a semi-dugout dwelling typical for the Romny culture and other early East Slav cultures. By Ivan I. Ljapuškin. In O. V. Suxobokov, *Slavjane Dneprovskogo Levoberež'ja* (Kiev, 1975), p. 69, fig. 40.

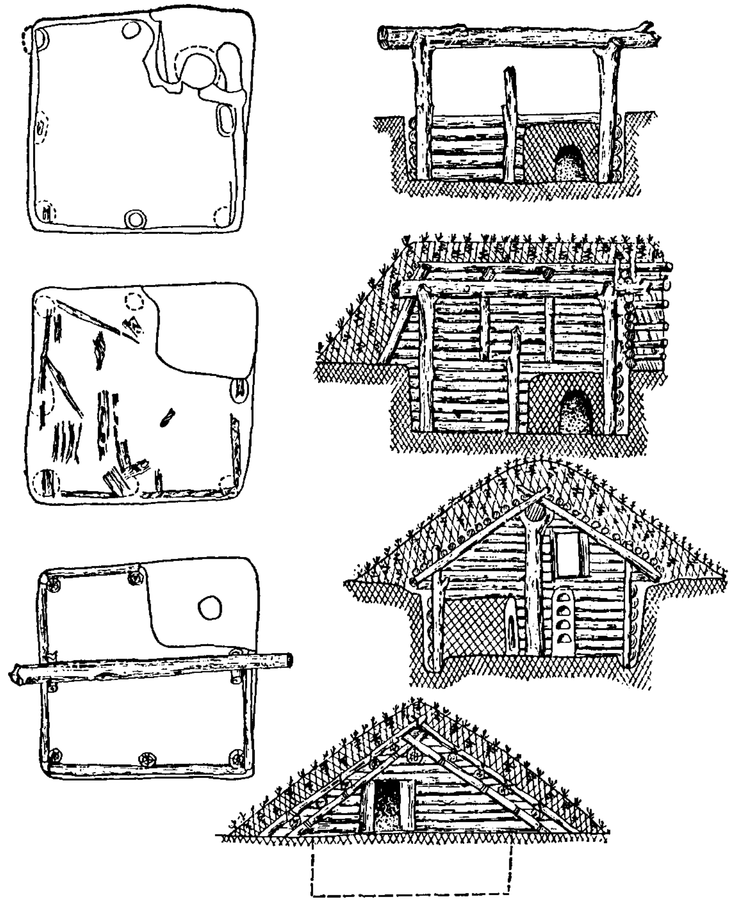
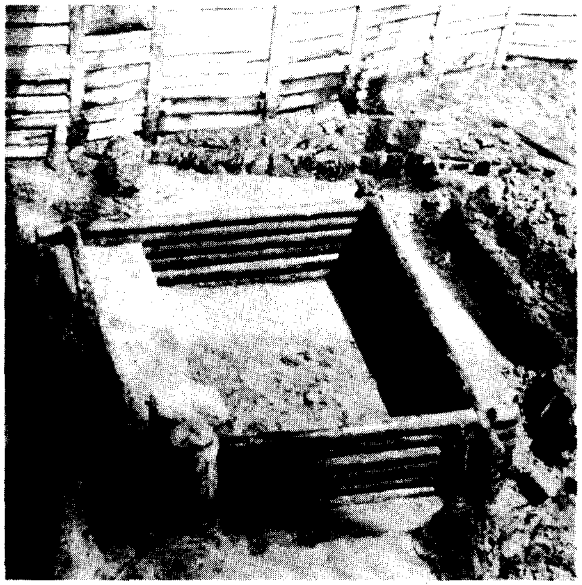


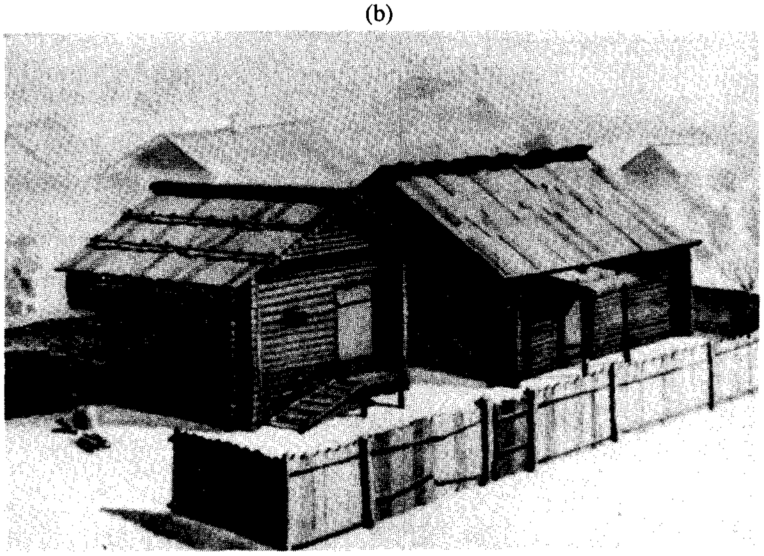
Fig. 6.

Typical specimens of ordinary, mass, urban, surface log-frame dwellings of the Old Rus' period in Kiev: (a) remnants of dwelling number 2, dated to the year 975, and excavated in the Red Square of the Podil; (b) reconstruction of dwelling number 9, dated to the year 1047, also uncovered at the Podil's Red Square. From [P. P. Toločko et al., eds.], *Novoe v arxeologii Kieva* (Kiev, 1981), p. 93, fig. 28; p. 138, fig. 56.

(a)



(b)



The Language Question in the Ukraine in the Twentieth Century (1900–1941)

GEORGE Y. SHEVELOV

I. INTRODUCTION

The history of literary languages, the Ukrainian language among them, is not a new discipline. Its study usually focuses on the written language in works of literature, less often in journalism, and quite rarely in other genres. Consequently, the main source for the characterization of a literary language in a given epoch is the writing of contemporaries. A secondary source, which can occasionally provide clues for the correct understanding of the texts, is the commentary of contemporaries on the problems of the language, especially useful if there are clashes of judgment, evaluation, and opinion. To take the closest example, such a history is my *Die ukrainische Schriftsprache, 1798–1965* (1966).

The present study includes that type of material, but intends not to be limited to or by it. A language question is not only the question of a language's internal history. It encompasses a much broader set of problems, first of all, the problem of the use of that language, both in written and oral communication, by whom it is used, in what functions, and with what legal, political, and social possibilities and limitations. For monolingual countries these are not important problems from a strictly linguistic point of view. The language of those countries is used in all the functions the given society requires and in all the circumstances that arise in that society. Therefore in that case the study of such functions and circumstances belongs to sociology rather than to linguistics.

This is not so in the case of bi- or multilingual societies. There a speaker chooses for each situation one of the languages he commands. His choice is conditioned by legal, political, historical, anthropological, and other factors. Specifically, if, as is the case with Ukrainian, the society's majority (Ukrainians) is governed by a minority or minorities (e.g., between the two World Wars, by Russians, Poles, and Romanians, as well as Czechs and Slovaks), the language question necessarily becomes not only or immediately a linguistic question, but also, and often primarily, a political, sociological and cultural question. The researcher has to show not only how, but why the language developed. This "why" is conditioned by the possibilities the language was granted and the limitations that were imposed on it, be

they legal or social-historical. Hence it is necessary, in this study, to bring in such historical facts as language legislation, changes in political course, and social changes that influenced the use and form of the language and often even directly determined it, especially in the tempestuous conditions of the wars, revolutions, and social upheavals that shook Eastern and Central Europe in the twentieth century.

The problem of language choice by the bilingual speaker in various situations is especially difficult to study. To begin with, the speaker himself does not always know why, here and now, he chose one language and not the other. A large-scale investigation applying the methodologies of modern psychology and statistics could shed some light on that. But such an investigation is beyond the possibilities of a researcher who does not live in the country of his subject. Moreover, any such investigation would hardly be welcome in the present-day Ukraine, where one principle of the overall policy on language is not to draw speakers' interest and attention to such problems. Finally, this approach cannot be applied to periods of time not yet remote, but still well past, as the years 1900–1941 are. Some conclusions about the status of a language as shown by its selection or rejection for an act of communication can be drawn indirectly from extra-linguistic evidence, such as the system and the development of education, the press, book production, and cultural life. This explains why it was expedient, in this study, to use data of that kind.

As a result, each chapter of this study includes a survey of language legislation during the time under consideration as well as a survey of pertinent political development and of some characteristic features of the educational system and of cultural life. These surveys, naturally, are brief and incomplete. Even so, they often were outside of my field of specialization. So I consulted the experts and benefitted greatly from their expertise. I am much indebted to Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, Roman Ilnytzkyj, Sofia Janiw, Arkadii Joukovsky, Edward Kasinec, Vasyl Luciv, Ivan Majstrenko, Jaroslaw Padoch, George S. N. Luckyj, Ivan L. Rudnytsky, Myroslava Znayenko, and especially John-Paul Himka and Myroslav Prokop. Of course, they are not responsible for the simplifications necessary in so concise a presentation or for any errors resulting from my use of the information they provided.

This study is very incomplete. It must be incomplete, due, above all, to limitation in the use of sources. The archives of the USSR and of other countries involved are not accessible to me. For instance, the proceedings of the conference on Ukrainian orthography held in Kharkiv in 1927 have never been published; there were some closed discussions of dictionaries that were never even mentioned in the Soviet press; and there must be many

more materials never printed. One small consolation—if it can be called that—is that these data are not only unavailable to me, but also to researchers who work in the Ukraine—at least, certainly not in full.

The limitations do not end here. Even published materials were not all available to me. Many a Ukrainian publication, especially those of the 1920s and 1930s, has become a bibliographic item of extreme rarity. Because I limited my research basically to the resources of the American libraries on the East Coast, I cannot claim to have used all the pertinent publications, and occasionally even important ones have remained outside the scope of my research.

Two more self-imposed limitations should be brought to the attention of the reader. First, this study is limited essentially to the problems of Ukrainian in its internal development and in its relation to the languages of the nations that ruled in the Ukraine: Russian, Polish, Romanian, Hungarian, and Czech. The languages of national minorities in the Ukraine—Russians, Jews, Poles, Moldavians, Hungarians, Greeks (see the article by R. Moroz in *Sučasnist'* 1980, no. 12), Germans, Bulgarians, and others—though able to shed some light on the development of Ukrainian and on the language policy of the ruling nation, are left out of this survey. There are two main reasons for this: materials on this subject are largely unavailable; and the problems involved are not identical with those of the Ukrainian language.

Also left outside the scope of this study are problems concerning the status and character of the Ukrainian language in regions not now part of the Ukrainian SSR: in Eastern Slovakia, in postwar Poland, in the South Berestja (Brest) oblast' that by Stalin's decision became part of Belorussia in 1939, in the South Kursk, West Voronež and Kuban' areas of the Russian Soviet republic, not to speak of the Ukrainian-language enclaves in Kazakhstan and the Far East or in various countries of Western Europe, the Americas, and Australia. One reason for the omissions is that for some of these areas (particularly in postwar Poland and in Soviet Union republics other than the Ukraine, where Ukrainians are subject to systematic information blackouts) virtually no data are available. No less important is that in all these areas Ukrainians constitute a minority, whereas I have set out to investigate the status and character of the Ukrainian language in those places where Ukrainians are the majority. Practically, then, the present study concentrates on the Ukrainian language within the frontiers of the present-day Soviet Ukraine.

All these problems should be elucidated in a comprehensive work on the status and the character of the Ukrainian language in its connections with the coterritorial languages, yet to be written. Such a study can propose

definitive solutions. Those offered here are, alas, too often only tentative, hardly more than material for discussion and perhaps a springboard for that integral study one can only dream of today.

It is also my hope to return to the topic of this essay to discuss, using the same approach and working within the same boundaries, the situation of the Ukrainian language after World War II (1945–1980).

II. THE STANDARD UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE IN 1900: A TENTATIVE CROSSCUT

Divided among the three states of Russia, Austria, and Hungary (of which the latter two were united in Austro-Hungary), Ukrainians lived under three different legislative systems. The functions, privileges, and restrictions of the public use of their language were delineated quite differently in each system. The status of the Ukrainian language for the ca. 85 percent of Ukrainians who lived in tsarist Russia was the worst; the ca. 13 percent of Ukrainians who lived in Eastern Galicia and in Bukovina, integrated into Austria, enjoyed relatively better conditions; the remaining ca. 2 percent in Transcarpathia lived in a situation closer to that in the Russian Ukraine.[1]

Autocratic Russia had no constitution. The source of legislation was the supreme will of the tsar. At the turn of the century the language regulations in the Ukraine were based on Tsar Alexander II's ukase signed in Ems, Germany, on 18 May 1876, as slightly modified by Tsar Alexander III on 8 October 1881.[2] The ukase of 1876 proscribed the printing of any texts, either original or translated, in Ukrainian, except for belles lettres and historical records. It also forbade any theatrical performances or public recitations in Ukrainian; the importation of any Ukrainian books published abroad; the teaching of any discipline in Ukrainian in schools; and the preservation or circulation of any Ukrainian books in school libraries. School teachers and all staff were to be screened, and all persons suspect of Ukrainophilism were to be transferred to schools outside of the Ukraine; new appointees would be recruited "predominantly" from among Russians (Savčenko, 381ff). The modification of 1881 concerned basically two

[1] The number of Ukrainians in the Russian Ukraine has been calculated on the basis of the census of 1897; that for Austria and Hungary, on the basis of the census of 1900. The data are quoted in *Ukrainskij narod v ego prošlom i nastojaščem*, ed. F. Volkov [Vovk] et al.; the article on population statistics, by A. Rusov, appears in vol. 2 (Petrograd, 1916), pp. 381–406.

[2] Much earlier, Ukrainian was entirely banned from the church. No sermons were allowed in Ukrainian, and the Ukrainian pronunciation of Church Slavonic was outlawed as early as the 1720s.

points: dictionaries were excepted from the prohibition, provided the Russian alphabet was used; and theatrical performances were allowed, but only by the special permission of a province's governor-general or governor for each performance and with the provision that there be no exclusively Ukrainian theatrical companies.[3] Essentially, the regulations of 1876–1881 aimed at the complete elimination of the Ukrainian language from public life. (The exclusion of Ukrainian from any court or administrative proceeding needed no formal prohibition because that practice had been in effect from the late eighteenth century).

Neither the ukase of 1876 nor the amendments of 1881 were ever published by the Russian government. They were secret and were supposed to remain so from the public. Nevertheless, very soon their existence and even the verbatim text became known. As early as 1876 they were analyzed in the article "Ukaz proty rus'koho jazyka" published in the periodical *Pravda* in Lviv. In 1878, Myxajlo Drahomanov, who emigrated from Kiev to Geneva, deposited at the International Literary Congress in Paris the paper "La littérature ukrainienne proscrite par le gouvernement russe," which was published that same year in Geneva. Information on the ukase reached intellectual circles in Russia through foreign periodicals. For instance, the *Revue des deux mondes* published the article "La presse et la censure" by Anatol Leroy-Beaulieux in his series *L'empire des tsars et les russes* (vol. 37, p. 88). In 1880–1882 the subject of the anti-Ukrainian legislation was widely debated in the legal Russian press within the empire in at least twelve periodicals, among them the authoritative journals *Vestnik Evropy* and *Russkaja starina* (Savčenko, 175).

A yet graver breech of the prohibition and intended absolute blackout of the Ukrainian language as a vehicle of literature and public communication was the appearance of legal Ukrainian publications—true, all of them in the Russian alphabet—after the ukase of Ems. The first major breakthrough was the publication of Ševčenko's *Kobzar* in 25,000 copies (about 1880; Čykalenko, 295). Without attempting to enumerate all such books, I can illustrate the point by noting the titles of published almanacs as listed, chronologically, in Bojko, 1967: *Rada*, 1 (Kiev, 1883), *Rada*, 2 (Kiev, 1884), edited by M. Staryc'kyj; *Nyva* (Odessa, 1885), edited by M. Borovs'kyj and D. Markovyč; *Step* (Kherson, 1886), edited by D. Markovyč a.o.; *Skladka*, 1 (Kharkiv, 1887) and 2 (Kharkiv, 1893), edited by

[3] This only reiterated the policy conceived of by Minister of Interior M. Loris-Melikov in 1879. He permitted concerts and theatrical shows in Ukrainian, but only on Ukrainian rural subjects; no plays could be translated and no Ukrainian plays could be performed in Kiev (Čykalenko 103, 112, 245).

V. Oleksandriv, 3 (Kharkiv, 1896) and 4 (Khariv, 1897), edited by K. Bilylovs'kyj; *Xutir* (Kobeljaky, 1891), edited by T. Kalenyčenko; *Prolisky* (Odessa, 1893); *Virna para* (Černihiv, 1895), edited by B. Hrinčenko; *Krynyčka* (Černihiv, 1896), edited by B. Hrinčenko; *Maty* (Kiev, 1896), edited by O. Tyško; *Bat'kove viščuvannja* (Černihiv, 1898), edited by B. Hrinčenko; *Malorossijskij sbornik* (Moscow, 1899); *Stepovi kvitky* (Černihiv, 1899), edited by B. Hrinčenko; *Ščyri sl'ozy* (Baxmut, 1899); *Vik* (Kiev, 1900), edited by S. Jefremov; *Xvylja za xvyleju* (Černihiv, 1900), edited by B. Hrinčenko; *Dubove lystja* (Kiev, 1903), edited by M. Černjavs'kyj a.o.; *Z nad xmar i z dolyn* (Odessa, 1903), edited by M. Voronyj; *Literaturnyj zbirnyk* (Kiev, 1903); *Na vičnu pamjat' Kotljarevs'komu* (Kiev, 1904), edited by S. Jefremov.

How the publishers of these almanacs managed to outmaneuver the censorship, tacking among various ministries, departments, and branches of censorship, is in itself a subject for study. It was not an easy undertaking. Sometimes it took years of effort and camouflage. For instance, it took Čykalenko five years to see his innocuous popular pamphlet designed for peasants, *Rozmovy pro sil's'ke hospodarstvo*, into print (Čykalenko, 189). Nonetheless, the plan to silence and annihilate Ukrainian literature completely had failed. There was even a Ukrainian bookstore in Kiev owned by *Kievskaja starina*, although the only one of its kind in the whole country. A society founded in Moscow under the Russian name "Blagotvoritel'noe obščestvo izdanija obščepoleznyx i deševyx knig" (Charitable Society for the Publication of Inexpensive Books for General Use) began in 1898 to publish pamphlets for the Ukrainian peasantry in Ukrainian. In 1903, the Kiev governor-general M. Dragomirov permitted fiction in Ukrainian, rendered in the Russian alphabet, to be published in *Kievskaja starina*.

The government also failed to halt fully the importation of foreign, mainly Galician, Ukrainian-language publications into the Russian Empire. For instance, both M. Komar in Odessa and Je. Čykalenko at his estate in Eastern Ukraine managed, in 1881, to subscribe to *Zorja* and *Dzvinok* published in Lviv (Čykalenko 177). In the years 1890 to 1896 *Zorja* had over 400 subscribers in the Russian Ukraine (Žyvotko 75); *Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk* had 155 such subscribers in 1899 (but importation became impossible in April 1901: Žyvotko 78; Dorošenko 1949, 7). The central censorship office fought back, time and again, reprimanding its too liberal censors (some such letters are mentioned in *Ob otmene stesnenij malorusskogo pečatnogo slova*), but violations continued. The Ukrainian language did not completely lose its function as a literary language. Also the Ukrainian theater, despite many often senseless and arbitrary restrictions, continued to

exist and to enjoy great success, even in St. Petersburg and with Russian critics.

The effect of the prohibitions of 1876–1881 is not to be underestimated, however. They affected human relations as well as publications. The main center of "Ukrainophilism," namely, the Kiev *Hromada* (Community), shrank from ca. 100 members before the ukase of 1876 to 14 after it; it had no more than 25 members by 1900 (Čykalenko 293, 296). Only a very small fraction of Ukrainian texts readied for publication succeeded in getting through the censorship, and they were exclusively belles-lettres or publications for the uneducated. There was no Ukrainian periodical press in the Russian Ukraine. From the higher spheres of public life, as well as from spiritual discussions, truly modern literature, scholarship, and science, the Ukrainian language was excluded. It was entirely absent from education on all levels, from elementary school through university. All this, of course, contributed to the lowering of the prestige of the Ukrainian language (which in any case was labeled a dialect of Russian, just as Ukrainians themselves were officially only "Little Russians"). More and more, Ukrainian was acquiring the reputation of being the language of the uneducated—essentially, of peasants.

The social status of peasants was low, a situation perpetuated by their lack of education. According to the census of 1897, 80 percent of the Ukrainian population was illiterate (Čykalenko 380), and the percentage would have been even higher if only peasants were considered. It is not surprising that peasants, too, were often ashamed of speaking Ukrainian and, in conversations with persons of the upper classes, inserted as many Russian words as they could. Speaking of his school comrades Čykalenko (86) says: "Characteristically enough, country boys, pupils in care of the zemstvo, spoke Ukrainian the least. . ., they were ashamed of their native tongue and tried to conceal [this fact], apparently wishing to get rid of their stigma of hill-billyism." No wonder, then, that later, in 1903, when the question of Ukrainian elementary school became topical, some parents rejected education in Ukrainian for their children. They thought that this experience would keep their children in the lower classes for good, by undermining their chances to become "teachers, priests, physicians" (349). Nonetheless, in 1905, a petition for Ukrainian elementary schooling is said to have gathered "many thousands" of signatures (403).

The official measures concerned Ukrainian as the vehicle of literature, scholarship, and public speech. Indirectly, however, they also affected how the educated spoke among themselves and within their families. The use of Ukrainian even in private was often grasped as the manifestation of a low social status; or, if used, it was considered the expression of a deliberate

opposition to the Russian language as a symbol of the tsarist empire, which more often than not was simply dangerous. The memoirs of many contemporaries note this. For example, Čykalenko (343) says: "One cannot blame too sharply the use of Russian in Ukrainian families. At the time [in 1903] for the use of Ukrainian people were dismissed from their positions not only in state or zemstvo offices, but sometimes even in private enterprises." No wonder, then, that in listing families of intellectuals who nonetheless spoke Ukrainian, Čykalenko could name only eight: the Lucenko, Hrinčenko, Antonovyč, Lysenko, Staryc'kyj, Kosač, Šul'hyn, and his own (222, 298, 308). Perhaps there were a few more such families (Lotoc'kyj, in his memoirs, mentions Ukrainian being spoken by some others, e.g. 2, 98; 2, 190) but certainly they were exceptional. The Russification of the younger generation of clergy and of the upper classes in general was depicted many times and with many realistic details in belles lettres, e.g., in A. Svydnyc'kyj's *Ljuborac'ki* and in V. Mova's "Stare hnizdo i molodi ptaxy." Čykalenko speaks about these processes in his memoirs (188ff). Lotoc'kyj several times mentions students who were patriotically Ukrainian but spoke Russian (2, 102, 105).

In speaking of the devastating effects of the ukases of 1876 and 1881 and the ensuing police persecutions, one should not forget that in addition to the administrative measures another factor, perhaps just as significant, undercut the use of the Ukrainian language among the educated. Practically no one among the bourgeoisie spoke or supported the use of the Ukrainian language. Čykalenko mentions only four such families—the Symyrenko, Leontovyč, Arkas, and his own; Lotoc'kyj mentions others (2, 63; 2, 93), but the number was negligible. This fact, too, undermined the prestige of the Ukrainian language and, more directly, deprived it of economic support.

By the very nature of the phenomenon, there can be no precise statistical data about the everyday language of communication chosen in settlements throughout the Ukraine. Only on the basis of the occasional reference in fiction, in memoirs, in letters, etc., can one tentatively conclude that in the largest population centers—Kiev, Odessa, Kharkiv—in the large industrial centers of the Donec' basin, and in the most important seaports, the language was predominantly Russian or a mixture of Russian and Ukrainian. In 1900, Lesja Ukrajinka wrote "Černivci [Bukovina]...is interesting to Little Russians in that it is the only bigger (*značitel'nyj*) European city in which the Little Russian language is in use everywhere, in homes and on the street as *langue parlée*" (Lesja Ukrajinka 128)—an indirect testimony for the situation in Kiev, Odessa, etc. In somewhat smaller towns, like Poltava, Vinnycja, Kamjanec'-Podil's'kyj, Lysavet (now Kirovohrad), Černihiv, etc., the language was predominantly

Ukrainian, although even there Russian was spreading. In Aleksandrovsk (now Zaporižžja), for instance, Ukrainian was the only language spoken until about 1870, but by 1910 "all inhabitants knew Russian and only those [nationally] conscious spoke Ukrainian" (Čykalenko II, 154b). Dorošenko (1949, 35) mentions as a historical fact that in the Komlyčenko family living in Poltava in 1903, two teen-age boys, students at the local high school, spoke with each other in Ukrainian and comments that this observation "pleasantly surprised" him because "until then I never saw such high school students (*himnazysty*)."

Ukrainian prevailed throughout the countryside, except that in their conversations with people of the upper classes peasants often mixed in Russian words, thus laying the foundation for what was later, in slang, called *suržyk*.[4] Yet it must be kept in mind that peasants spoke dialects of Ukrainian that varied from one locality to another. Thus the literary language was used more often in written than in oral speech. Yet in neither did Ukrainian encompass all aspects of modern life and thought, which in turn limited its possibilities and diminished its prestige still further. Even among those who defended and fostered the Ukrainian language this situation sometimes led to a deliberate bilingualism in which Ukrainian was assigned rural-familial-folkloric-poetic functions, but not others (e.g., by Kostomarov and Panas Myrnyj; see below, fn. 15).

The imprint of this situation can be found in the Ukrainian language itself. Its phraseology came to abound in images rooted in rural life. Sometimes this is reflected even in semantics. To give one example, the notion of "citizen," which in the West European languages (and in Russian) derives from the word for "city," in Ukrainian is based on the word meaning "(village) community" (*hromadjanyn, hromada*).

In Galicia and Bukovina—that is, in the Austrian Ukraine—the rather liberal constitution of 21 December 1867 (with later amendments that liberalized it still more, especially in 1907) was in force. Its section on citizen rights allowed for extensive local and private initiative in education (§ 17). It also stated (§ 19): "All peoples of the State, of whatever race, are equal in their rights; each race has the inviolable right to maintain and to foster its nationality and its language. The State recognizes for all the languages used in the lands of the Monarchy an equal right to be used in school and to perform the functions and diverse acts of public life," and, further on: "Everyone may receive the necessary elements of his/her education in his/her language" (Dareste 443ff.).

4 Originally a miller's term meaning an admixture of rye or barley to wheat flour.

The Ukrainians' exercise of these rights was, however, somewhat impeded by the peculiar administrative division of the country. Ukrainians in Austria had no "land" of their own. Rather, they belonged to the "Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria with the Grand-Duchy of Cracow," which Austria had inherited from Poland,[5] and to the Duchy of Bukovina, once part of Moldavia in vassalage of Turkey. In the first of these administrative units, which encompassed ethnically Ukrainian Eastern Galicia, and ethnically Polish Western Galicia, Poles were the majority in the region as a whole; in addition, the upper classes were almost entirely Polish. As a result, the Poles, profiting from the curial principle in elections, succeeded in passing laws that imposed Polish as the language of education and of the courts, in 1868, and, a little later, of administration as a whole (Dareste 430). In Bukovina Ukrainians were in the absolute majority in the region's northern part, whereas Romanians prevailed in the south. Here, too, Ukrainians belonged mostly to the lower classes, although here social and cultural domination by the other nation over Ukrainians was not as strong as in Galicia, and bilingualism among the educated was not so widespread. In fact, in Bukovina Ukrainian-German bilingualism was more typical than Ukrainian-Romanian.

In contrast to the Russian Ukraine, by 1900 the Austrian Ukraine was not denied public use of the Ukrainian language. Yet the actualization of the constitutional rights of Ukrainians was in nearly every instance the product of long and bitter strife with the Polish administration, which controlled the bureaucracy. As a result, by 1900 Ukrainians possessed their own relatively well-developed press (which frequently also published Ukrainian authors from the Russian Ukraine) and educational system, but both were insufficient in relation to the number of Ukrainians and in comparison with that of the Poles.

According to my data (collated mostly from Žyvotko, passim, and Ihnatijenko 1968, 116ff.), which may well be incomplete, in 1900 Galicia had 25 periodicals (according to Ihnatijenko [1926, 40], in Austro-Hungary as a whole the number of Ukrainian periodicals was 20). They included: four dailies (*Dilo* 1880,[6] organ of the Ukrainian National-Democratic Party; *Narodna časopys'*, 1896, semiofficial; *Ruslan*, 1897, Catholic; *Halyčanyn* 1893, Moscophile); two weeklies (*Svoboda*, 1897, organ of the Ukrainian National-Democratic Party; *Russkoe slovo*, 1890, Moscophile); nine biweeklies (*Hromads'kyj holos*, 1895, organ of the Ukrainian Radical Party;

[5] In 1848 the foremost demand of Ukrainian representatives was the division of Galicia into two separate lands.

[6] Years are the dates of founding.

Volja, 1900, organ of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party; *Misionar*, 1897, Catholic; *Dzvinok*, 1890, for children; *Russkaja rada*, 1871, Moscophile; *Poslannyk*, 1889, Catholic, Moscophile; *Zerkalo*, 1890, humoristic; *Komar*, 1900, humoristic; *Straxopud*, 1880, Moscophile, humoristic); five monthlies (*Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk*, 1898; *Moloda Ukrajina*, 1900, for students; *Prapor*, 1897, for clergy; *Djakovskyj holos*, 1895; *Nauka*, 1871, Moscophile); two quarterlies (*Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Ševčenka*, scholarly; *Bohoslovskyj věstnyk*, 1900, Moscophile); and one semiannual (*Časopys' pravnyča i ekonomična*, 1900). There were also two periodicals devoted to practical economic matters—*Providnyk ril'nyčyx kružkiv* (1896) and *Hospodar'* (1898)—and two editions of the official publication *Vistnyk zakoniv*, which came out in Vienna and Lviv, respectively. It must be noted that the Moscophile publications aimed to use the standard Russian language, although in most cases they included many elements of local speech.

Six Ukrainian periodicals were being published in Bukovina in 1900: *Bukovyna*, 1885, then published three times a week, and *Ruska rada*, 1898, organs of the Ukrainian National-Democratic Party; the weekly *Bukovynsky vědomosty*, 1895; the biweekly *Pravoslavnaja Bukovyna*, 1893, and the monthly *Narodnyj věstnyk''*, 1899, both Moscophile; and *Dobri rady*, 1889, which published agricultural advice for peasants. There was also *Obščyj zakonov. . .věstnyk*, an official publication without strict periodicity.

Unfortunately, little is known about the circulation of these Galician and Bukovinian publications. *Dilo*, in the first year of publication (1880), is said to have had 600 subscribers (Žyvotko 68), among whom 173 were priests and 142, teachers (Žyvotko 68, 78); in its first year, *Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk* had 799 subscribers, of whom 625 lived in Galicia, 32 in Bukovina, and 101 in the Russian Ukraine. Newspapers must have had somewhat more subscribers.

In sum, the development of the periodical press in Ukrainian territory under Austro-Hungary as compared to the Ukraine under tsarist Russia, where there were no Ukrainian periodicals, was impressive. But taken on its own merits, the periodical press in Galicia and especially in Bukovina was underdeveloped, its political differentiation was in only its initial stage and it was insufficiently differentiated in content and focus. Many publications were ephemeral, but some already had a certain degree of stability and authority, notably *Dilo*, *Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk*, *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Ševčenka*, and *Bukovyna*. Undoubtedly their language standard exerted a certain linguistic influence in Ukrainian society. This was, however, necessarily if not programmatically regional, as is discussed below.

A factor of great influence in shaping the language of educated Ukrainians in Galicia and Bukovina was the school. The dynamics of the growth of Ukrainian elementary schools is shown by the fact that in 1881 their number in Galicia alone was 1,529 (*EU* 2, 2518), whereas on the eve of World War I—when 97 percent of Ukrainian children went to Ukrainian elementary schools despite the many bureaucratic obstacles posed by the predominantly Polish administration—it was 2,510. Some Ukrainian elementary schools were, however, incomplete (two grades out of the possible six). The number of Ukrainian vs. Polish public high schools (*himnaziji* and *real'ni školy*) was 6 to 50; in partial recompense, however, Ukrainians had 10 private high schools (1911; *EU* 1,929). The University of Lviv was entirely Polish by 1900, but it had several Ukrainian chairs: from 1894, history of the Ukraine; from 1900, Ukrainian literature; by 1914, there were 8 Ukrainian chairs vs. 72 Polish ones. Educational work among adults was carried out by the Prosvita (Enlightment) society founded in 1862. In 1900, Prosvita had 22 branches, 924 reading rooms, and 1,248 libraries (*EU* 2, 2366).

There were in Bukovina (in 1896) 131 Ukrainian and 34 bilingual (Ukrainian-German, Ukrainian-Romanian) elementary schools, out of a total of 335 (Kvitkovs'kyj 663), but only one high school: in Černivci, from 1896; the Ukrainian language was taught as a subject in other high schools. The University of Černivci was German and had Ukrainian chairs only in theology and the Church Slavonic language, as well as a chair of Ukrainian language and literature (Kvitkovs'kyj 694). The society Rus'ka besida (founded in 1869) conducted educational work among adults similar to that of Prosvita in Galicia.

Given the peculiar social structure of the Ukrainian population in Galicia and Bukovina, one of the most influential social groups was the clergy—Catholic in Galicia, Orthodox in Bukovina. In Galicia the once prevailing situation, when "the clergy willingly used the Polish language both at home and publicly, and in churches, especially in towns, preached in Polish" (Xolms'kyj 338), was overcome in the mid-nineteenth century. By the 1890s after the period when Moscophilism was in fashion, the majority of the clergy adopted the Ukrainian orientation. In Galicia the liturgical language was always Church Slavonic with Ukrainian pronunciation. The same was true for the church in Bukovina; otherwise, however, the church there was predominantly in Romanian hands. In 1873, Ukrainian was admitted alongside Romanian as a language of a church administration (Kvitkovs'kyj 735), but Bukovina could claim not a single metropolitan or bishop having a Ukrainian political orientation; some, at best, were occasionally lenient about Ukrainian matters.

Transcarpathia, politically part of Hungary, had no legislation of its own. Hungary itself had no codified constitution, but was governed by the successive publication of individual laws, woven into a complicated and tangled pattern, new laws building on the older ones. As far as I could ascertain, none of these laws guaranteed the rights of any language other than Hungarian. Law 16 of 1791 excluded all other languages from official use, and law 2 of 1844 proclaimed Hungarian the only official language. Law 5 of 1848, by a complicated system of regulation, assured Hungarian preponderance in all elections. Only laws 38 and 44 of 1868 bespoke the rights of nationalities (Dareste 1, 467–470).

Having no legal protection or recourse, exposed from 1867 to aggressive Magyarization, and suffering from hopeless economic decline, by the turn of the century the Ukrainian population of Transcarpathia either submitted or looked for salvation to a strong, kindred (Slavic) power, which could have been only Russia. By 1900 the Ukrainian language was practically excluded from all public functions and that language was reduced to a series of local, highly differentiated dialects. The intelligentsia, small in number, either joined the ruling Hungarians—who included all the large landlords, aristocracy, high government bureaucrats, and the church hierarchy—or, the minority, became Moscophiles. Responding to developments in Galicia, the populist orientation gained some followers after 1900.

In summary, legally and factually Ukrainian was in the worst position in the Russian Ukraine (explicitly excluded from public life, education, and literature) and in the Hungarian Ukraine (de facto excluded from public life). Ukrainian was in the best position in Galicia, where it was admitted into public life. In Bukovina it had an intermediary position: legally Ukrainian was not persecuted in the Austrian lands; practically the rights granted it were limited. In none of the four territories did Ukrainian enjoy high social prestige; it only stood relatively better in Galicia. Attempts to improve the language situation were undertaken on the cultural, economic, and political levels in Galicia and Bukovina; predominantly on the cultural level, in the Russian Ukraine; and virtually on no level in Transcarpathia. The medium of everyday communication in the major cities in the Russian Ukraine was Russian;[7] in Galicia, Polish; in Bukovina, German and/or Romanian (contrary to Lesja Ukrajinka as quoted above); in Transcarpathia, Hungarian. However, in the Austrian Ukraine there were individual and group attempts to introduce Ukrainian with that role, attempts naturally

[7] Very often Russian was mixed with Ukrainian. In 1912, F. Korš wrote of "that 'disgusting Russian—Little Russian *volapük*' which more and more overflows in towns of our southern provinces." "K voprosu ob ukrainskoj kul'ture," *Ukrainskaja žizn'*, 1912, no. 2, p. 41.

preceded by the consistent use of Ukrainian by the Ukrainian intelligentsia itself. These efforts are related in letters and other writings of Ukrainians from the Russian Ukraine who visited the Austrian Ukraine.

How much the fluent use of Ukrainian by educated Galicians impressed non-Galician Ukrainians is reflected in Olena Pčilka's partly autobiographic novella *Tovaryšky* (1887). The author's alter ego, the writer Ljuba, meets in Vienna the Galician Bučyns'kyj:

She felt ashamed in the presence of this Ruthenian intellectual; he speaks Ukrainian so freely, without faltering on any topic, while she. . .must first think it over well and only then can she speak, as if she had first to translate it mentally from Russian. . . .She feels that this is the natural language of his speech and that it *must be* like this, that speaking to him in Russian would be improper, it would be a shame. Why, then, can he speak so and I cannot? They have adapted their language for cultural needs while we switch immediately to Russian when we discuss serious matters. This is not the way to act! (323f.)

Pavlo Hrabovs'kyj, who never visited Galicia but heard of the language situation there, expressed similar amazement and respect in a letter to Ivan Franko (1892):

In which language do Ruthenian writers speak among themselves—Russian, Polish, or German? I ask this because I would like to know: In Galicia, is Ruthenian the language of literature only or also of life? Here, in the Russian Ukraine, quite a few write Ukrainian but speak Muscovite (190).

Lesja Ukrajinka recognized the same phenomenon and sought an explanation for it (1893):

I do not know how to explain it, but Galicians speak better than they write whereas [Russian] Ukrainians write better than they speak. As for the fact that [in Russia] Ukrainian families speak Russian, well, it seems that the time is not remote when Galician Ruthenian families spoke Polish. If our language had the same rights in Russia as in Galicia, I am convinced that we would not lag behind. He who likes may throw a stone at the [Russian] Ukrainians suppressed by school, government, social institutions. I cannot do that. (Simovyč 1938, 28)

Galicians were aware of the difference. Illja Kokorudz wrote (1891):

While in the [Russian] Ukraine the Ukrainian-Ruthenian language is rarely used as a spoken language among intellectuals, in Galicia it is spoken in a simple peasant cottage in the same degree as in the most elegant and highest salons. . . In Galicia it is in this language that the Emperor is addressed, political speeches in the parliament are delivered, all subjects are taught in high schools, it is heard from university chairs, in it articles and studies are written in philosophy, philology, history, mathematics, physics, law, etc. (Kokorudz, 471–72)

In reconstructing the overall language picture in Galicia by 1900, it should be remembered, however, that all such testimonies—and there are many more—were drawn on the comparison of the Austrian Ukraine with the Russian Ukraine. The contrast was indeed dazzling. But one must bear in mind that in absolute terms the situation of the Ukrainian language in Galicia was far from the one normally enjoyed by a language supported and protected by the state, as, say, French in France or Swedish in Sweden. In the same year, 1892, another Galician, Ivan Verxrats'kyj, wrote: "Our circumstances are not really joyful. We have no aristocratic patrons, no rich bourgeoisie, no well-to-do intelligentsia, no full-fledged Ruthenian university, no Ruthenian academy" (Verxrats'kyj [pseud. Losun], in *Zorja*, 1892, no. 7). He, too, was quite right.

Yet another aspect of the language situation in Galicia must be kept in mind. It is true that in the Austrian Ukraine educated Ukrainians (and even some Moscophiles) spoke Ukrainian among themselves. But it would be an exaggeration to think that this language was the same as the literary Ukrainian used by writers in the Russian Ukraine, which theoretically was the standard language of the entire country. And how could it have been, when education, the popular press, and the very habit of speaking Ukrainian on all subjects among the educated were all of relatively recent date, and contacts with the Russian Ukraine were so tenuous? After all, even for the Russian Ukraine of that time the designation of the standard language can be made only with great reservation. There was a certain norm of usage, but it was not codified, nor even exhaustively described, and there was no authority to prescribe it. In Galicia there were several Ukrainian textbooks (M. Osadca, 1862; H. Šaškevyč, 1865; P. Djačan, 1865; O. Partyc'kyj, 1873), but none had the approbation of any authority other than the author. The school grammar of S. Smal'-Stoc'kyj (*Rus'ka hramatyka*, published in Lviv in 1893, with subsequent editions published in 1907, 1914, and 1928; all were written in collaboration with F. Gartner), which was closer to the Central Ukrainian standard, especially in introducing so-called phonetic spelling (with substantial local peculiarities), was approved by the Austrian Ministry of Education after bitter and unscrupulous debate, but found its way into schools only in 1893.[8] It was preceded in lexicology by the first major Ukrainian dictionary (by E. Żelechowski), in 1886. No wonder, then, that each writer's and speaker's dialectal background manifested itself

[8] On this grammar and the conflict around it, with further bibliographic references, see V. Simovyč, "Stepan Smal'-Stoc'kyj jak pedahoh i pedahohičnyj dijač," *Šljax vyxovannja j navčannja*, 1939, no. 1; reprinted in V. Simovyč, *Ukrajins'ke movoznavstvo*, vol. 2 (Ottawa, 1984), pp. 160–76.

clearly throughout the Ukraine, and the more so in the Austrian Ukraine, where the dialects were more numerous and more differentiated. In these regions speaking Ukrainian essentially meant speaking one's own dialect.

Contacts between educated speakers of West Ukrainian dialects were at their liveliest in Lviv. It seems that by 1900 a kind of Galician or Galician-Bukovinian koine, based on the Dniester dialect, was in the making there. The question needs further study, yet the sources for oral speech of the educated at that time are scanty. As a memoirist (a non-linguist) later correctly observed: "Lviv did not have its own Ukrainian dialect because the cultivated class (*inteligentna verstva*) spoke a more or less common literary (*pys'menna*) Galician, whereas the burghers, who were arriving from the environs and, at the last in the third generation, were being Polonized in the language melting pot of Lviv, spoke the dialect of their village contaminated with Polish" (Šax 111). If the hypothesis of a Lviv koine in the making is correct, then the large-scale and often tempermental linguistic discussion of 1891–1892 that B. Hrinčenko began with a vitriolic attack on the "Galician poets" was essentially a conflict between two standards in the making, that of the Russian Ukraine and that of the Austrian Ukraine.[9] The discussion ended with the general acceptance of the thesis that all Ukrainians should have the same standard literary language, and that that standard should be based on the Central Ukrainian (Kiev-Poltava region) dialects upon which the language of the most influential classical writers—T. Ševčenko, Marko Vovčok, a.o.—was built. Not in that discussion nor at any later time were there ever any partisans of establishing a standard Ukrainian language on Galician foundations, nor of creating two parallel variants of the literary language on the pattern of, say, the Serbs and Croats among the South Slavs.[10] Yet no discussions could erase the actual local differences as long as the country was divided by political (and actually cultural) boundaries. Characteristically, even the later editions of S. Smal'-Stoc'kyj's grammar never followed the Central Ukrainian standard. In 1889, the editors of *Zorja* wrote: "If a dictionary of how we should not speak and write were to be compiled, it would possibly be as large as that which would record our genuine, i.e., recommended words and expressions."[11] That situation certainly did not change by 1900 nor in the years that followed.

9 The course of the discussion is traced and analyzed in Shevelov, 1966, pp. 61–68.

10 Contrary to fact-distorting contentions of M. Žovtobrjux, 1970, 275, and, especially, 1964, 20.

11 Quoted after B. Hrinčenko, "Kil'ka sliv pro našu literaturnu movu," *Zorja*, 1892, no. 15, pp. 310–14.

III. THE YEARS BEFORE WORLD WAR I AND REVOLUTION (1900–1916)

In the Austrian Ukraine the years 1900–1916 did not bring new forces to bear on the status of the Ukrainian language. The single exception was the brief Russian occupation of Galicia during World War I, from the autumn of 1914 through the spring of 1915, and the first occupation of Bukovina, September 1914 to June 1915, when all Ukrainian political and cultural institutions were crushed, a great number of intellectuals were persecuted and deported, and the use of the Ukrainian language for public functions was practically outlawed (this policy was not applied during the second occupation of Bukovina, June 1916 to July 1917). On the whole, then, the trends shaped by 1900 developed further and grew much stronger in the Austrian Ukraine.

There were no major changes in the legal status of the Ukrainian language in Galicia and Bukovina. The years 1900–1916 were characterized by attempts to use its legally granted rights to a fuller extent than before, efforts reflected in the growth of the press and the educational system.

At the outbreak of World War I (using data for 1913–1914) the periodicals being published in Galicia in 1900 (except for *Volja*, *Prapor*, the Moscophile *Russkaja rada*, *Poslannyk*, *Djakovskyj holos*, *Bohoslovskyj věstnyk*, and *Straxopud*) were still being published (in 1907, *Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk* had moved to Kiev). Also, a new daily, *Nove slovo*, the organ of the National Democrats, with a circulation of 12,000 copies (*EU* 2, 1782), had been added. The Galician periodicals also began to display a new feature: diversification. About 1900, differentiation was evident only in terms of political (party) orientation. This continued, but diversity according to professional interests set in by 1914. By that time there were ten Ukrainian periodicals specializing in economics, agriculture, and trade; two juridical; three pedagogic; five student- and youth-oriented; one for women; one popular medical; two devoted to sports; one artistic; one on history and arts; two ecclesiastic; and one devoted to humor and satire. There also appeared many local and regional periodicals. In Bukovina a substantial diversification in the political orientation of publications occurred (there were seven such periodicals, one of them Moscophile). Diversification according to profession lagged behind (one theatrical, two economic), but Bukovinians had easy access to Galician professional (and other) publications. Žyvotko (129) estimates the general number of "West Ukrainian" periodicals (i.e., including Transcarpathia; see below) to have been 80, whereas Ihnatijenko's data (1968, 197ff.) yields 84.

A closer analysis of the periodicals appearing in Galicia and Bukovina in 1913–1914 as compared to those of 1900 reveals an unquestionably rapid growth of the periodical press and thus reflects an increasingly complex social structure. The analysis also reveals, however, that this society was still not modern and harmoniously developed. Other than for the publications of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the number of publications in the industrial and technological areas was strikingly low while the proportion of agricultural publications was exceedingly high. The distribution of periodicals mirrored the fact that the Ukrainian society in Galicia and Bukovina of this time still consisted primarily of peasants and of intelligentsia that originated from the peasantry and served it, namely, clergy and teachers and to a smaller degree lawyers and physicians. A Ukrainian aristocracy, wealthy bourgeoisie, and technological intelligentsia were virtually nonexistent, and the working class was small and underdeveloped.

All this had a bearing on the language. Scholarly abstract terminology and technological terminology were at best *in statu nascendi*. Rudimentary technical terms were used in everyday life, but the use of specialized terms in periodicals was very limited; their low representation in the press, in turn, did not foster their development, creating a vicious circle. Another feature generated by the overall social situation was the extremely strong influence of dialects on the language of intellectuals. The periodical press, though making some effort to use a common Ukrainian standard language, at best cultivated a Galician koine which was actively taking shape primarily on the basis of the Lviv region dialects. Often periodicals slipped into what were—theoretically inadmissible—dialectal forms, words, and constructions. Because of its deficiencies and underdevelopment the Ukrainian culture and language were supplemented by borrowings from the more fully developed cultures and languages of the area: virtually all intellectuals were bilingual (Ukrainian and Polish) or trilingual (Ukrainian, Polish, German). This situation could not but leave its imprint on the very character of the local Ukrainian literary language, vulnerable to borrowings from and patterning on the coterritorial languages.

This state of affairs was reinforced and perpetuated by the situation in education. As the data presented above (chap. 2) show, the education of Ukrainian children in Galicia between 1900–1914 consistently though slowly improved. Yet successes were substantial only on the lower levels. They were inadequate on the high school level (*himnaziji*), and on the university level there were Ukrainian chairs only in the purely Ukrainian subjects; in other words, there was no education in Ukrainian in any field of technology, medical science, law, etc. The existence of ten teachers seminaries, with parallel classes in Polish and Ukrainian, did not, of course,

change the situation. The struggle for a Ukrainian university sometimes took on aggressive forms, including political demonstrations and even an assassination, but this did not bring about any change. Moreover, even on the high school level, Poles were granted, besides *Gymnasien* (i.e.,*himnaziji*), eleven *Realschulen* (technical high schools), whereas Ukrainians had none of the latter (which they referred to as *real'ni školy*). The system of education, though preventing the Ukrainian nation's denationalization, constantly reinforced and recreated its archaic, insufficiently differentiated social structure.

In Bukovina the number of Ukrainian elementary schools grew from 131 to 216, plus 17 bilingual schools (Kvitkovs'kyj 668), but Ukrainians had only one high school, plus two Ukrainian-German ones. The only Ukrainian technical high school was a private institution. The Černivci teachers seminary, originally only German, was in 1910 reorganized into three parallel sections—Ukrainian, German, and Romanian. The University of Černivci, except for a few Ukrainian chairs (see chap. 2), remained German. Thus, in terms of the requirements of a modern, industrial, and professionally differentiated society, eduction in Bukovina was as outmoded and inadequate as in Galicia. As in Galicia, the educational system in Bukovina both reflected and perpetuated the lopsided structure of Ukrainian society and of its language.

As if symbolically, this state of affairs found its bureaucratic reflection in the official name of Ukrainians in Austro-Hungary. Despite the rights Ukrainians enjoyed in Austria, their official name continued to be "Ruthenians." In 1915 a group of Ukrainian delegates to the Austrian parliament moved that the term should be replaced by "Ukrainians." The government nominated two experts to give their opinions. One of them, Vatroslav Jagić, a respected authority in matters Slavic who was relatively unbiased (he was of Croat descent), suggested that it would be prudent to retain the traditional label, that of "Ruthenians," because it was not loaded with modern nationalist sentiment.[12] The problem remained unresolved up to the time of the final disintegration of Austro-Hungary, in 1918.

One implication of the name "Ruthenian" was a certain degree of nonidentification of Austrian Ukrainians with Russian Ukrainians. In the literary language this provided some authorization for the preservation of local linguistic peculiarities—which reflected the actual state of affairs, that is, the broad influence of local dialects—and for the development of a

[12] Published and commented by D. Dorošenko in *Zapysky istoryčno-filolohičnoho viddilu* of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, 10, 1927. For the original text in German, see pp. 268–74.

Ukrainian koine within Austria. On the other hand, the spreading acceptance among Austrian Ukrainians of the self-identification "Ukrainians" was, in fact, precluding any attempt to create a separate "Ruthenian" language. Practically, it fostered the desire to establish a common language, while preserving some features of the Galician sub-standard.

That attitude marked language regulations which were being elaborated in Galicia. The first step in language regulation was the approval of Smal'-Stoc'kyj and Gartner's *Rus'ka hramatyka* for school use by the Vienna government. Then came the first attempt at language normalization by a Ukrainian organization. In 1904 the Shevchenko Scientific Society published *Ruska pravopys' zi slovarcem* (152 pages). While making some concessions to the language usage in the Russian Ukraine (e.g., accepting the feminine forms *drama*, *poema*, *systema*, *tema*, rather than *dramat*, *poemat*, *system*, *temat*, etc.; renouncing forms in *-a* for such words as *artyst*, *arxitekt*, *mytropolyt*, *poet*—Tymošenko 2, 342ff.) the booklet kept intact such striking peculiarities of Galician orthography as the use of *ï* < *ě*, *e* (*дїд* 'old man'), the spelling of the postfix *sja* separately from verbs, the use of the soft sign between two palatalized dentals (*s'vit* 'world'), in morphology the ending *-yj* in the genitive plural of substantives in a consonant (*kónyj* 'horses', *hrudýj* 'breasts'), and especially in the rendition of *g* and *l* in foreign words (*biol'ogija* 'biology') (Tymošenko 2, 336, 338, 343). Characteristically, the title of these rules contained the word "Ruthenian" (*ruska*), and not "Ukrainian," which, it is true, may have been motivated by Austrian official regulations.

The smallest and the most backward Ukrainian land, Transcarpathia, made no contribution to the standard Ukrainian language—in fact, Ukrainians there were little acquainted with it. The underdeveloped school network was entirely Magyarized after the introduction of the so-called A. Apponyi laws (36 and 37 of 1907), which made every elementary school a stronghold of Hungarianism. By article 23 of law 36 and article 32 of law 37, all teachers, whether in public or private schools, became civil servants who were obliged to swear an oath of loyalty to, and zeal for, all things Hungarian (*Törvénytár* 368, 392; an English translation of one passage appears in Magocsi 65; cf. his fn. 116, p. 380). Article 18 of law 37 (*Törvénytár* 383) prescribed the use of Hungarian as the language of instruction in every school in which the parents of 20 children (or, if less, 20 percent of the children) wanted it. As a result, by 1915 there were no entirely Ukrainian (Slavic) schools in Hungary and only 18 mixed Ukrainian-Hungarian ones (*EU* 2, 55). The influential newspapers and magazines were also in Hungarian. Some periodicals were published by Moscophiles in Russian with varying admixtures of elements of local

speech. There was only one Ukrainian periodical: a weekly which in 1912–1914 became a monthly, published by the St. Basil Society; its language was a peculiar brand of standard Ukrainian, with a strong admixture of Church Slavonic and local elements, rendered in an etymological spelling. The spoken language of most Ukrainians in Hungary was dialectal, varying from one locality to the other; the intelligentsia most often spoke Hungarian. Characteristically, A. Vološyn published a grammar of the Transcarpathian variant of the Ukrainian language in Hungarian: *Gyakorlati kis-orosz (rutén) nyelvtan* (1907) (Gerovskij 1934, 508). Among other things it was intended to serve as a textbook for Ukrainians educated in Hungarian who wanted to have a look at their native language.

In discussing the language situation in the Russian Ukraine it is expedient to divide the period 1900–1916 into three subdivisions: 1900–1905, 1905–1914, and 1914–1916. In the years up to 1905 the same circumstances obtained and the same trends continued that had marked the last decade of the nineteenth century. To recapitulate them briefly, they included: the complete lack of any Ukrainian schooling,[13] church, or press; only delayed and sporadic publication of Ukrainian belles lettres and poetry, with almost no translations from foreign languages; a successful Ukrainian theater which was permitted to depict in domestic repertory only peasant life; the exclusion of Ukrainian speech from public life, and its only exceptional use in intelligentsia families. The non-denationalized intelligentsia were, by profession, writers and teachers, with some exceptions; the Ukrainian language had low prestige even among the peasantry, who nonetheless among themselves spoke their original dialects.

It was in comparison with this situation that the prestige of the Galician variant of the standard Ukrainian language stood high in the eyes of many contemporaries. In their meetings with Austrian Ukrainians, Russian Ukrainians continued to be impressed, inadvertently, by the Austrian Ukrainians' language, with what they perceived as its elaborateness, its culture, and its topical scope. Some activists of Ukrainian political parties existing in the Russian Ukraine settled in Galicia or Bukovina so as to publish political literature that could be smuggled into the Russian Ukraine. They often came under the spell of Galician political life and transferred this fascination to the language of the Austrian Ukrainians. Such attitudes and occurrences were mirrored in works of literature, e.g. in N. Romanovyč-Tkačenko's novel *Manivcjamy* (On the Byways). This is how

[13] In 1904 a request that a partially Ukrainian school in memory of I. Kotljarevs'kyj be opened in Poltava was denied (Lotoc'kyj 2, 283ff.).

the author describes the impressions of her characters, young revolutionaries from the Russian Ukraine who are participating at a rally in Lviv:

Here, amidst this splendid crowd, in a hall flooded with light he hears the language of his steppes, of his fields, the language spoken by those brothers of his who live in narrow shanties without light and fresh air. True, the language here seems to be slightly different, but this is a natural alteration as is that which happened to him: he is the same, born under a peasant's thatch—and not quite the same now: not in a villager's shirt, not in a villager's tunic (*svyta*), but in a "German" suit. And yet he is the same (145).

Some generalizations are made:

Then he heard the Ukrainian language of the speakers. Not that language of wide steppes, of boundless fields, slow, colorful, sonorous, no, but a fast language, monotonous but elaborate and cultured. . . (531).

The wish appears to stay in this atmosphere, where these Europeans speak the language of his far-away native villages (147).

That attitude was also imported to cities of the Russian Ukraine. There youth groups were occasionally visited by renowned politicians, members of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party and other parties, who brought back with them elements of language picked up in the Austrian Ukraine. The young audience willingly and eagerly adopted the words and expressions of those they considered to be revolutionary heroes, even though these language peculiarities often had nothing to do with revolutionary activity. A noted Ukrainian bibliographer, V. Dorošenko, relates an episode from the time when he was a *himnazija* student in Pryluka (now in Černihiv oblast'):

We did not know the [Ukrainian] language well, so we were keen to adopt all sorts of [language] monstrosities which we happened to hear from Galician politicians. We deemed them—because they were so unusual to us—something very special. I remember that we fell greatly in love with the word *pozajak* 'because' as a beautiful Galician novelty. It was brought to us by a member of the *hromada* from Lubni [now in the Poltava oblast']. (V. Dorošenko).

Particularly interesting in this reminiscence is that the Galician word was adopted not directly, from a Galician, but indirectly, from a Poltavan. The memoir illustrates how the use of "contagious," "urbane" Galician words and expressions expanded. The mediating role played by Ukrainian circles in *himnaziji* (as well as at universities) is indisputable. Such circles are known to have existed not only in Pryluka, but in Lubni, Nižen (now Černihiv oblast'), and Kiev (Dorošenko 1949, 17) and there were probably others. It can be noted that the word *pozajak*, rather a misnomer from the linguistic point of view, found its way not only into the vocabulary of a young and inexperienced student, but also into the writings of an

outstanding linguist of the time, K. Myxal'čuk (p. xv). I. Nečuj-Levyc'kyj, a bitter enemy of all things Galician, summarized the trend thus: "Our young men have read so much of Galician newspapers that their language has Galicianized, as if they had so busied themselves with that [stuff] that they learned those newspapers and journals by heart" (1907, 8). An exaggeration, but certainly one with a grain of truth.

The impact of Galicia and the Ukrainian language there was one of the new and to some extent subversive processes that percolated behind the façade of the Russian Empire's apparent stability. Another was the activization of Ukrainian intellectuals in their own right, which became possible because of the growing social and political unrest in the Russian Empire. In the Ukraine there were widespread peasant mutinies in 1902–1903, centered in the Poltava region but radiating far beyond it. Their impact was substantial, even though they had no national slogans and were aimed exclusively at economic and social revindication. Ukrainian *hromady*, which had shrunk in size after the law of 1876, were reactivated and, in 1897, united in the General Ukraine Non-Partisan Democratic Organization; affiliated with it was the publishing company Vik (1895–1918). The organization's activities included the exploitation of all legal avenues for promoting Ukrainian as a vehicle of public communication. This was easier to do from outside the Ukraine. In the spring of 1902, D. Mordovec' gave a public speech in Ukrainian in memory of T. Ševčenko at the Blagorodnoe sobranie (House of Nobility) in St. Petersburg, an act unthinkable in Kiev or Odessa. In the Ukraine, at the archaeological congress convened in Kiev in 1899, scholars from the Austrian Ukraine wanted to deliver their papers in Ukrainian (Slavic languages were generally admitted at such congresses). When the authorities vetoed the use of Ukrainian, the Austrian Ukrainians demonstratively withdrew from the congress. The defiant act did not spread to speakers from the Russian Ukraine, who submissively used Russian. Another incident occurred on 30–31 August 1903, at the unveiling of the monument to Kotljarevs'kyj in Poltava. Here the authorities relaxed, and the Austrian-Ukrainian participants were allowed to speak Ukrainian. They were followed by speakers from the Russian Ukraine; but the very first address to be delivered in Ukrainian by an imperial subject was interrupted by the mayor of Poltava, who forbade it according to the directives of the Ministry of Interior; several speakers reneged their right to speak and lodged protests (Čykalenko 337, 340; Lotoc'kyj 2, 278–280; Pypin 398–402). V. Korolenko related this episode as demonstrating that Ukrainians enjoyed rights in Austria and not in Russia (Korolenko 376). Later the tsarist senate

would reprimand the Ministry of Interior and overturn its decision, but this happened in 1906, after the Revolution of 1905.

Anniversaries of M. Lysenko and I. Nečuj-Levyc'kyj in 1904 were occasions for similar manifestations, and protests occurred at archaeological congresses held in Kharkiv in 1902 and in Katerynoslav in 1905. Such public demonstrations would hardly have been possible a decade earlier.

Despite the laws prohibiting their appearance, the number of popular pamphlets in Ukrainian on agriculture and medicine began to grow. These were published by the Blagotvoritel'noe obščestvo izdanija obščepoleznyx i deševyx knig, a spuriously Russian charitable society founded in 1898 in St. Petersburg, having more than a thousand members, which produced 6–8 items annually (Lotoc'kyj 2, 253); by B. Hrinčenko in Černihiv, averaging 7 or 8 pamphlets per year; and by the publishing house Vik in Kiev (from 1895) and Hurt in Kharkiv (Lotoc'kyj 2, 97). These organizations capitalized on the contradictions between the Main Office on Press Affairs, which supervised the enforcement of the regulations on censorship, and the ministries of agriculture, health, etc., which were interested in the improvement of rural economy and sanitation. True, to avoid censorial restrictions, these pamphlets were written as a thinly-disguised narrative or dialogue. Yet, they were, in fact, a breach in the enforcement of censorship laws. The society published pamphlets such as "Why Did Melasja Die" (on diphtheria), "Good Advice" (on rabies), "Adventure on the Farm" (on meteorology), etc. (Lotoc'kyj 2, 256). But pamphlets on Socrates and on the life of Ševčenko also appeared. Of course the number of texts buried in the censorship offices was many times higher; for instance Lotoc'kyj (2, 238ff.), in an incomplete list, names 76 items. All the published pamphlets were designed to be understandable to a barely literate peasantry. Nevertheless, they promoted the idea of an Ukrainian scholarly language and applied some rudimentary terminology. Thus the movement of Ukrainian into public speech and into print, very modest though it was, began even before the revolution of 1905.

Political parties added to the cultural activities usually conducted, directly or indirectly, by *hromady*. The first political party in the Russian Ukraine, the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (RUP)—which was, of course, illegal—was organized in 1900 in Kharkiv. Linguistically, the activity of RUP is significant for two reasons. It distributed political pamphlets and newspapers, the first of that kind in the Russian Ukraine (the monthly *Haslo*, 1902–1903;[14] *Seljanyn*, 1903–1905; and *Pracja*, 1904–1905), thus

[14] *Haslo* had a circulation of 4,000, according to the Russian Minister of Education V. Glazov (quoted in Lotoc'kyj 2, 378).

laying the foundations for the journalistic variant of the standard Ukrainian language. RUP published these materials in the Austrian Ukraine (Černivci and Lviv), with the help of local people, thus contributing to the Galician influence on the standard Ukrainian language.

These events, though sporadic and modest in scope, evidenced the rise of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and its wish to cooperate with the peasantry and, partly, the working class. This development, in turn, brought about a change in the general attitude towards the very nature of the standard Ukrainian language—a change whose importance cannot be overestimated. Until that time the *raison d'être* of Ukrainian was based on one of two arguments. The older one, rooted in Romanticism, maintained that any language, Ukrainian included, is the unique manifestation of the unique soul of a nation and therefore must be preserved at any cost. This view, emanating from general Romantic philosophy (its expression in the Ukraine began with A. Pavlovs'kyj's "Grammar" of 1805–1818), survived into the early twentieth century, as manifested, for example, in the declarations of 1901 and 1906: "The greatest and the dearest good of every nation is the language, because it is nothing else but a live depository of the human spirit, the rich treasure chamber in which the nation deposits her ancient life, her hopes, mind, experience, and feelings. . . ." "The people's language is the expression of the popular soul, of the popular world view" (Myrnyj 371, 374). It survives as a *gesunkenes Kulturgut* even today.

The second argument for the preservation of the Ukrainian language arose in the Positivist period. In simplified form, it usually ran as follows: peasants and their children cannot be properly educated if school is taught in a foreign language. The low level of education and even literacy in the Ukraine is perpetuated by the lack of Ukrainian schools. In the same vein, literature must serve peasants; therefore, its language must be generally understandable. As Drahomanov put it (1891–1892): "Language is not a sacred thing, not the master of a man or of a people, but their servant. Literature must bring education to the masses of people in the easiest possible way" (Drahomanov 322).

The two points of view seem quite different, and yet their practical programs coalesce: the literary language should never break its ties with the language of the peasants (Romanticists); it should be entirely understandable to peasants (Positivists). The often ridiculed motto Nečuj-Levyc'kyj formulated in 1878—"The model of the literary language should be drawn exactly from the language of a countryside woman, with her syntax" (*Pravda* 1878, p 26)—simply and honestly defined this program. In less direct form the same idea was expressed by nearly every Ukrainian writer of the time. "This is the way it is said among our people, and, since this is

neither a Polonism nor a Russianism, why should we not write it like this?,'' asked V. Samijlenko (437); ''I only say that the language must be genuinely popular,'' asserted P. Hrabovs'kyj (1891, 185); representing this attitude as a historical fact, Ivan Franko in 1907 wrote, ''A Ukrainian intellectual and semi-intellectual never heard nor saw a grammar of Ukrainian; he drew models for his language directly from the live source'' (338); and, reverting to the straightforwardness of Nečuj-Levyc'kyj, A. Kryms'kyj as late as 1922 declared, ''As common people speak in the Ukraine, exactly so one must write, making no concessions by abandoning any specific features of that language, without sacrificing them to common-Slavic mutual understandability'' (274). In fact, such argumentation was broadly used in the memorandum seeking the abrogation of restrictions against Ukrainian by a commission of the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1905.[15]

In these conditions, it was a revolutionary idea indeed to publish an almanac devoted entirely to the intelligentsia, to their way of life, and to cosmopolitan topics. The idea came to the writers M. Kocjubyns'kyj, M. Černjavs'kyj, and M. Voronyj (1903). It materialized in the almanacs *Dubove lystja* (Kiev, 1903) and *Z potoku žyttja* (Kherson 1905), to the objection of some authors of the older generation. Panas Myrnyj defended rural topics, saying that they ''shaped our life since long ago... and still provide, live and original, our own types.'' ''As for our intelligentsia,'' he

[15] Those who defended the Ukrainian language with this argument did not recognize that it led to the denial of higher levels for the Ukrainian standard language, to its restriction to domestic use (*dlja domašn'oho vžytku*), and to its eventual extinction. Well aware of this were Russian defenders of the rights of Ukrainian, such as A. Pypin and A. Šaxmatov.

Among Ukrainians the argumentation was most fully developed by M. Kostomarov in his article ''Malorusskoe slovo'' (*Vestnik Evropy*, 1881, 1, pp. 401–407) and in his review of the almanac *Luna* (*Vestnik Evropy*, 1882, 2). Kostomarov opposed neologisms in language as well as translations in literature (1882, pp. 892ff., 897, 900); he said that Ukrainian literature should be ''exclusively for peasants (*isključitel'no mužickaja*)'' (896); Russian should be reserved for all higher cultural needs (888). If under such conditions Ukrainian withers away, that is wholly acceptable, provided it happens from Ukrainians' free will and not under duress (897).

We do not know to what extent these were the actual views of the aging Kostomarov (Lotoc'kyj 2, 139 denies the sincerity of his statements), or whether they were a tactic for achieving the cancellation of the Ems ukase; the former assumption is the more likely. But similar views, except for the conclusion about the withering away of Ukrainian, were expressed sincerely by Panas Myrnyj, in private letters not designed for publication.

Myrnyj was against any non-Ukrainian subjects in literature (e.g., he objected to the Crimean short stories by M. Kocjubyns'kyj), against translations (although he himself translated *King Lear*, he never published the translation), against any non-peasant words, including loanwords (''words which the peasants [*narod*] do not use, such as *nervy, energija*''), and for the consistent purity of the rural language in literature (Myrnyj, 491, 461). The reason behind Myrnyj's views, however, was primarily practical, namely, the absence of a Ukrainian intelligentsia. He admitted the possibility of later change, ''as life would create [our] intelligentsia'' (503).

continued, "it did not exist up to now; it is only beginning to shape itself and, even then, educated by an alien (*inšoju*) school, it has not created such vivid images that can be called our own and original" (30 March 1903, p. 503). To which Kocjubyns'kyj answered (3 July 1903): "I cannot agree that we should not treat topics taken from the life of the intelligentsia because we do not have one. We do have an intelligentsia.... The shaping of a cultural type, as is well known, does not depend on national or political consciousness alone.... Literature should not be confined to peasants' everyday life; it must reflect the real way of life of all layers of the society" (Kocjubyns'kyj 294). Myrnyj had not noticed that in his own critique, composed as a letter to Kocjubyns'kyj, he had used such words as *psyxolohičnyj*, *inteligencija*, *typ*, and even *literatura*—thereby defeating his own thesis, because these words and similar ones did not originate from peasants' speech. Unwillingly, in Myrnyj's own use, they manifested the existence of a Ukrainian intelligentsia.

The linguistic ramifications of these literary polemics are obvious. Even though limited by official prohibitions to belles lettres, the literary language followed the dialectics of every standard language. At the outset, it might be attached most strongly to one (rural) dialect. As soon as it becomes the tool of the educated, however, that language breaks through its original boundaries, absorbs elements alien to the underlying dialect, and acquires its own propelling forces of development. This trend did not, of course, begin with *Dubove lystja*, in which Kocjubyns'kyj wrote about Ukrainian intellectuals, Lesja Ukrajinka dealt with topics of ancient Egypt and ancient Scotland, and Kryms'kyj published his variations on Old Iranian motifs—all topics blatantly remote from the interests of the Ukrainian peasant and requiring a vocabulary to a great extent unfamiliar to that supposed consumer of literature. As early as the 1870s an ardent discussion had flared up around the non-peasant words (either borrowed or newly created) then being introduced by M. Staryc'kyj—the opponents ironically called them "forged words" (*kovani slova*). Even in the 1850s, under the pen of the masters and creators of Modern Ukrainian T. Ševčenko and P. Kuliš, words unknown in the everyday spoken language of the countryside were introduced and used lavishly in Ukrainian literature.

The novelty of the time around 1903 was that these problems were raised not only by language practice, but as a programmatic statement. Inescapably, a reassessment of the *raison d'être* of the standard Ukrainian language had to be made. Now losing at an increasing rate its understandability to peasants, the language was in need of a new justification, of a complete revision of the old arguments presented in its defense. And defense it needed, because, as we have seen, its social status was different from that of

a sole or official language within a state. Such languages needed no theoretical support, for they were the only means of communication in their respective countries. If one day, say, French suddenly disappeared in France, the entire life of the country would be paralyzed. This was not the case of Ukrainian in the then Russian Ukraine, where all higher communication was conducted in Russian and the intelligentsia either did not use Ukrainian or, at best, could switch to Russian at any time. These problems, although never clearly articulated as has been presented here, came to the fore after 1905.

The Revolution of 1905 swept away the ukase of 1876 and its revised version of 1881, although, characteristically, they never were officially repealed and thus, in purely legal terms, could have been reinstituted at any time. Numerous petitions and recommendations to revoke these decrees were made before 1905. For instance, in 1880 such appeals were made by the Kherson zemstvo and the Černihiv zemstvo, and in 1890, by Oleksander Konys'kyj. In 1900 Konstantin Voenskij, a Russian functionary of the St. Petersburg Censorship Committee, submitted such a petition (reprinted in full in Lotoc'kyj 2, 246ff.). In 1902 one was made by the Kharkiv Society for Literacy; in 1902, by the Economic Council of the Černihiv zemstvo; in December of 1904, by Ukrainians gathered at the celebration of the anniversary of I. Nečuj-Levyc'kyj; in 1901, at the Agricultural Congress in Moscow; in 1902, at the Congress of Handimen in Poltava (cf. Lotoc'kyj 2, 239ff., 285, 292, 371).

On 12 December 1904, the tsarist government (then headed by S. Witte) initiated a reconsideration of the special laws on the censorship of non-Russian (*inorodčeskix*) publications in the empire (Lotoc'kyj 2, 287). In its meetings of 26 and 31 December 1904, the Committee of Ministers resolved to initiate a revision of the laws on Ukrainian publications, provided committees of experts recommended such a measure. Such committees were to be nominated at the Russian Academy of Sciences and at the Universities of Kiev and Kharkiv; the governor-general of the provinces of Kiev, Podolia, and Volhynia was to be consulted, as well.

The Academy's committee, nominated on 5 February 1905, consisted of six academy members, headed by F. Korš, a sympathizer of Ukrainian cultural aspirations. Characteristically enough, the committee coopted six prominent Ukrainians who belonged to the St. Petersburg *hromada* (listed in Lotoc'kyj 2, 365). The resulting memorandum (its general and literary section was compiled by Korš, and the philological section, by A. Šaxmatov), entitled "On the Revocation of the Restriction of Little Russian Publications," recommended the abrogation of the laws of 1876 and 1881. The memo was adapted by the Academy as a whole on 18 February 1905.

It was published in March for "internal use" only (150 copies), but the text was leaked and appeared in Galicia, in the *Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk* (vol. 30, 1905, in the translation of V. Hnatjuk; pp. 164–81,218–30), and as an offprint. It was published in Russia, by an unnamed private publisher (but with permission of the academy) only in 1910, when it had only historical significance.

The Kharkiv committee comprised eleven professors, chaired by M. Sumcov; nine of its members were Ukrainians. The Kiev committee included eight professors, six of them Ukrainians. Both committees opted for the revocation of the anti-Ukrainian decrees. The administration in Kiev did not object to that. The governor-general's reply (written by N. Molčanovs'kyj, director of his chancery—Čykalenko 368) favored the cancellation of the law of 1876.

The Kharkiv resolution (written by M. Sumcov—Čykalenko 368) derived primarily from a concern for the interests of the Ukrainian people, whereas the academy memo sprang clearly from a concern for the integrity and the interests of the Russian Empire. Permission to publish in Ukrainian was being recommended by the academy on the premise that Ukrainians posed no threat to the unity of the Russian Empire, whereas discontent brought about by the blossoming of such publications in Galicia while they were banned in the empire might be a potential danger. The other premises of the Academy's memo were that Ukrainian publications would benefit the uneducated or little-educated peasants, that Ukrainian literature would by its very nature remain regional and "in its entire make-up would remain Russian," and that Ukrainians would remain "faithful and tried sons of the Russian nation" (Tymošenko, 328). No wonder that in 1917, when the political aspects of the Ukrainian liberation movement became obvious, Šaxmatov radically changed his attitude (see Lotoc'kyj 2, 359).

The Kiev committee took a position close to that of the academy in St. Petersburg. In his preliminary draft of the Kiev memo V. Antonovyč went so far as to say that the Little Russian nationality "is entirely devoid of the instinct for statehood; not only did it never constitute a separate state, but it voluntarily declined the formation of such even when historical circumstances provided such a possibility" (Antonovyč 283). All three committee reports emphasized the importance of Ukrainian publications for the un- and little-educated; none suggested the free, full-fledged development of Ukrainian literature.[16]

[16] The essential passages of the Kiev and Kharkiv memos are reprinted in Lotoc'kyj 2, 375ff. The St. Petersburg memo is reprinted in Tymošenko 2, 297ff., but without the appendices compiled by the Ukrainian members of the committee (they are listed in Lotoc'kyj 2, 373).

On the basis of these recommendations, the minister of education, V. Glazov, reported to the Committee of Ministers that the laws of 1876 and 1881 should be revoked, while emphasizing that in the church, schools, courts, and administration, Ukrainian must remain inadmissible.[1] Measures taken must agree with § 1.3 of the "Fundamental Law of the Empire," which stated: "The Russian language is the official language and [it is] obligatory in the army, the navy, and all governmental and public institutions" (Dareste 2, 151; the text is from 1906); and with the programmatic slogan of the Russian nationalists: "Russia can be great, united, and indivisible only if she is well bound by one cement, that of the one and only Russian official language" (*Nacionalisty*, 259). By the time of Glazov's report, however, the entire procedure had become pointless: "Provisional regulations for censorship," compiled by 24 November 1905, and accepted on 26 April 1906 (Lotoc'kyj 2, 381; Jefremov 76), virtually abolished any preliminary censorship.

The repercussions of these measures, together with the general turmoil of 1905, were far reaching. First of all, they brought about the rebirth of the Ukrainian periodical press and the inauguration of legal political newspapers in the Russian Ukraine. After the tsar's manifesto of 17 October (which, in the words of a contemporary, "promised all liberties and granted none") and before the appearance of the new press regulations a month later, *Xliborob*, a newspaper for peasants, started appearing in Lubni (Poltava region), without having received any preliminary authorization. Appearing in a circulation of 5,000, it succeeded in publishing five issues, after which it was closed. *Xliborob* was followed, beginning on 24 December 1905, by the weekly *Ridnyj kraj*, published in Poltava; after its sixteenth issue appeared, it was closed and then transferred to Kiev, where it continued to appear through July of 1910 (Žyvotko 104). In the wake of the revolution Ukrainian periodicals appeared in other places, but they were all ephemeral due to the interference of the authorities (Jefremov 78): the bilingual Ukrainian-Russian *Narodnoe delo* (one issue), *Narodnja sprava* (one issue), and *Visty* (five issues) in Odessa; *Dobra porada* (four issues) and *Zaporožžja* (one issue) in Kharkiv; *Zorja* (four fascicles) in Moscow; and *Vil'na Ukrajina* (six issues) in St. Petersburg (Žyvotko 110ff.). The most important was the daily *Hromads'ka dumka* which was designed primarily for the rural intelligentsia. It began to appear in Kiev on 1 January 1906, and was shut down by the censorship on 18 August 1906 (Čykalenko 440).

[1] The text is partly reproduced in Lotoc'kyj 2, 378ff.

Having been encouraged by the sweep of revolution, all the periodicals fell victims to the reaction that immediately followed the manifesto of the 17 October 1905. The reaction became overpowering after the dispersal of the 72-day-old First Duma, on 21 July 1906, and became even greater after the dissolution of the 71-day-old Second Duma, on 15 June 1907, and the introduction on 16 June 1907 of a new electoral law which secured a pro-government majority in all subsequent dumas (so that the Third Duma existed for the normal five years: 14 November 1907 to 22 June 1912). Under the governments headed by, in sequence, Goremykin, Stolypin, and Kokovcev, when through courts-martial thousands of people were either hanged or banished and the Black Hundred ran wild, the situation of the Ukrainian press was precarious. In the provinces it was almost non-existent.

Yet there was no total blackout of Ukrainian publications, as before 1905. In Kiev, some periodicals managed to survive even in the worst conditions. The shut-down *Hromads'ka dumka* was reborn in 1907 as *Rada*, which became the leader among Ukrainian publications within the Russian Empire and survived until 1914. The literary and political monthly *Nova hromada* was published through 1906. In 1907 M. Hruševs'kyj transferred the publication offices of *Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk* from Lviv to Kiev, where it merged with *Nova hromada*. The Russian language *Kievskaja starina* was transformed into the Ukrainian-language *Ukrajina* in 1907; when that ceased publiction, the *Zapysky Ukrajins'koho naukovoho tovarystva v Kyjevi*, a strictly scholarly publication, began to appear, in 1908 (through 1918 with wartime interruption). By 1908 the list of Ukrainian periodicals grew to include the Social-Democrats' *Slovo* (Kiev, 1907–1909) and, as the only Ukrainian periodical published outside Kiev, *Svitova zirnycja*, a weekly designed by conservative Poles for the peasantry that was published in Podolia. In 1909, Hruševs'kyj began to publish *Selo*, a weekly for peasants, which was superseded in 1911 by *Zasiv* and in 1912 by *Majak*. From 1910 through 1913 the weekly *Dniprovi xvyli* appeared in Katerynoslav. Two new literary monthlies, *Ukrajins'ka xata*, a forum for modernism in literature and nationalism in politics, and *Dzvin*, a Marxist publication, were inaugurated in 1909 and 1913, respectively. The art magazine *Sjajvo* started to appear in Kiev in 1913. The Russian Ukraine got its first Ukrainian monthly for children, *Moloda Ukrajina*, in 1906; for students, *Ukrajins'kyj student*, in 1913; for pedagogues, *Svitlo*, in 1910. There were also agricultural and household periodicals such as *Rillja*, *Ukrajins'ke bdžil'nyctvo*, *Žyttje i znannje*, *Naša kooperacija* (Žyvotko 121ff.).

The growth of the Ukrainian periodical press was unprecedented and certainly impressive. After so many dormant years there suddenly proved to be Ukrainian publishers, editors, authors, and, most important, Ukrainian readers. Yet, that sudden flourishing, in heavily unfavorable conditions, should be examined not only for its achievements but also for its shortcomings. The most obvious of these was the low circulation of virtually all the new Ukrainian periodicals. Only a few had a circulation of more than 1,000 copies, and probably none were published at a profit. Therefore they were financially strapped and permanently relied on monetary support from a very limited number of benefactors.

Rada, the most popular periodical, was supported financially by, among others, Vasyl' Symyrenko, V. Leontovyč, M. Arkas, and, especially, Je. Čykalenko. It is Čykalenko who in his memoirs provides details about the newspaper's situation. *Hromads'ka dumka/Rada* was planned to have 5,000 subscribers. In the first half of 1906, it had 4,093; by the second half of the year, subscribers fell to 1,509 (Čykalenko 466); no data on newstand sales are provided.

Among provincial periodicals, there are some data on *Dniprovi xvyli*, which was edited by D. Dorošenko and was published in Katerynoslav (now Dnipropetrovs'k). It had "several hundred" subscribers, mostly peasants, and subscription income covered the expenses of publication, but only because neither the editors nor the authors were paid (Dorošenko 1949, 143).

The most important reason for the decline in subscriptions was the persecution of subscribers: harassment by police, searches, firing from government jobs, blacklisting, and confiscations (Čykalenko 425, 465; II, 18 passim; *Rada* subsequently partly recouped its subscribers: in 1908 there were 1400, in 1909 there were 2500, in 1911 there were 3300—ibid., II, 3a, 30b, 75c). At the instigation of the police, some provincial post offices refused to accept subscriptions. Cases of the harassment of subscribers and readers of the Ukrainian press are described by Jefremov (78ff.). A second reason for low circulation was the low level of literacy. A third was the lack of Ukrainian journalists of high caliber, due to the lack of professional education.[2]

Contemporaries mentioned language difficulties as another reason for the low circulation of the Ukrainian press. Mastery of a literary language spreads through education in schools and through its use by the intelligentsia. Neither situation obtained for the recently de-ruralized (or now de-ruralizing) Ukrainian literary language. Čykalenko describes the

[2] S. Petljura complained about this in 1908 and again in 1912 (Petljura 2, 125, 248).

attitude of various strata of the Ukrainian society: the peasantry "is either illiterate or [their language] is maimed by the Russian school, or else they do not want to read a Ukrainian newspaper which is written in a language shaped by a small circle of intelligentsia, true, on the foundation of the people['s language] but with a host of words and expressions which do not [come from] people and are alien to them because they do not hear them in the school, in the court, in [everyday] life" (II, 18a); in cities "a regular city dweller who for better or worse can speak in the rural Ukrainian language will not subscribe to our newspaper, for he understands the Russian language better" (II, 18a). Finally, a Ukrainian landowner "loathes the standard Ukrainian language [and] considers it injurious to the people's speech that is dear to his heart; he would like a newspaper written in the language of Ševčenko [and] Kotljarevs'kyj, and, if native [Ukrainian] words are lacking, one should, in his opinion, adopt the now generally known Russian words" (II, 33a).

In Galicia, where a Ukrainian school and the tradition of a Ukrainian-speaking intelligentsia did exist, these problems did not arise. Therefore the regional Ukrainian press could appear in a language elevated above the vernacular of the lower classes. This added to the linguistic differences between the Ukrainian press in Galicia and in Kiev. The situation is well represented in a description of a visit by the editor of the Lviv *Dilo* to the offices of the Kiev *Rada*, where these observations were made to him:

The Lviv *Dilo* is published in such a mixed language that reading it is difficult and disagreeable: the many Latin, German, Polish, and even Muscovite words, and the purely Polish sentence structure, make this language entirely alien to us. Likewise, to Galicians the language of *Rada* seems unusual. Once there came here [to visit us] the *Dilo*'s editor, Panejko. He said that *Rada* is published in a very primitive peasant language, adapted to the understanding of a *muzhik*; *Dilo*, by contrast, is designed for the intelligentsia, whereas for peasants they have special newspapers that are published in a peasant language similar to that of *Rada*. (Čykalenko II, 140d ff.; cf. also II, 52c and 71bc).

In December 1906, M. Hruševs'kyj brought three Galicians—M. Lozyns'kyj, I. Krevec'kyj, and I. Džydžora—to the editorial staff of *Rada*, but they left after a few months (Dorošenko 1949, 93). Whatever the reasons, the existence in, say, 1908, of some nine periodicals published in Ukrainian with a total circulation of at best 20,000 copies (actually probably less) for a population of 30,000,000 is telling. Each of four leading Russian newspapers published in the Ukraine—*Kievskaja mysl'* in Kiev, *Južnyj kraj* in Kharkiv, *Odesskij listok* in Odessa, and *Pridneprovskij kraj* in Katerynoslav—had a much higher circulation. According to the bibliography compiled by L. Beljaeva, in 1908 Kiev had a total of 13 Russian

newspapers, Kharkiv had 8, and Odessa had 20; these were certainly widely read by Ukrainians. The circulation of *Kievskaja mysl'*, which was only a local newspaper, vacillated between 25,000 and 80,000. In addition, the Ukraine absorbed an impressive number of papers and other periodicals published in St. Petersburg and Moscow. So whereas the tempo and the scope of the growth of the Ukrainian press were breathtaking, its absolute achievements were very limited.[3]

The characteristics of the growth of the Ukrainian press also apply to the book trade. Before 1905 there appears to have been only one Ukrainian bookstore in the entire Russian Empire, in Kiev (owned by *Kievskaja starina*). By 1908 there were three in Kiev (the two new ones were opened by *Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk* and by Je. Čerepovs'kyj), and one each in Poltava, Kremenčuk, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, Odessa, and Katerynodar, as well as one in St. Petersburg, representing an increase of 400 percent. But the total of nine Ukrainian bookstores for the whole Russian Ukraine and an additional one in St. Petersburg only testifies to the underdevelopment of Ukrainian-language publishing.

The same can be said about publication of books. Petljura made a survey of the exhibition in 1912 of books published in the Russian Empire during the previous year. The number of books published in Ukrainian was 242, against 25,526 items in Russian, 1,664 in Polish, 965 in Yiddish and Hebrew, 920 in German, 608 in Lettish, 519 in Estonian, 372 in Tatar, and 266 in Armenian (Petljura 2, 244). Ukrainians, second in population, occupied eighth place, and a low eighth place at that. In addition, the Ukrainian items included a disproportionately high number of pamphlets and popular editions.

[3] At this junction it is of interest to mention that the agricultural booklets by Je. Čykalenko sold in 500,000 copies. Ihnatijenko (1926, 50) summarizes the state of the Ukrainian press after 1905 in the following table:

	Total number of Ukrainian periodicals	Number of Ukrainian periodicals in the Russian Ukraine	Number of Ukrainian periodicals in the Austrian Ukraine
1905	39	7	28
1906	81	32	37
1907	51	11	34
1908	47	9	33
1909	59	11	37
1910	84	14	49
1911	104	16	59
1912	95	16	51
1913	48	17	21
1914	42	16	16

The events of 1905 awoke hopes that there would be Ukrainian schools. Letters sent to *Rada* in favor of Ukrainian courses at the universities carried up to 10,000 signatures (Dorošenko 1949, 91). In 1906–1907, M. Sumcov at the University of Kharkiv and O. Hruševs'kyj at the University of Odessa began to teach courses on Ukrainian subjects in Ukrainian (A. Loboda and V. Peretc announced similar courses in Kiev, but these were to be conducted in Russian; Jefremov 101). Almost immediately the university administrations intervened, and the courses were stopped. Not the slightest possibility was allowed for education in Ukrainian, not even in the elementary schools. The most liberal Russian party in this respect, the Constitutional Democrats, who in the First Duma held 153 seats out of 524 and in the Second Duma 98 seats out of 518, reluctantly included instruction in Ukrainian in rural elementary schools and teaching Ukrainian as a subject in high schools in their demands (Čykalenko 387; Petljura 2, 256; Giterman 425, 440). But the party was actually split on this issue and certainly had no desire to fight for Ukrainian education.

Not a single Ukrainian school opened in 1905–1914. Several private *himnaziji* sought to introduce the Ukrainian language in their curriculums. The authorities consented, on the condition that teachers of the subject have diplomas for teaching Ukrainian, knowing full well that no such diplomas could have been granted anywhere in the Russian Empire (Jefremov 105). In Podolia there was an attempt to Ukrainianize instruction in parochial elementary schools. The Holy Synod, on 12 October 1907, authorized the undertaking, probably in an effort to counteract the influence of Catholicism and of the Poles. The move brought no results because several teachers who taught in Ukrainian were severely harassed by local authorities (Jefremov 103).

A spark of hope for Ukrainian education were the several Ukrainian grammars published in those years. Those most resembling school grammars were P. Zaloznyj's *Korotka hramatyka ukrajins'koji movy*, part 1 (Kiev, 1906 and 1912), and part 2, *Syntax* (Kiev, 1913); and H. Šerstjuk's (managing editor of *Rada*—Čykalenko II, 47a) *Ukrajins'ka hramatyka*, part 1 (Poltava 1907, and Kiev 1912), and part 2, *Skladnja* (Kiev, 1909 and 1913). Šerstjuk's second edition even included exercises for students. More detailed and sophisticated were Je. Tymčenko's *Ukrajins'ka hramatyka*, part 1 (Kiev, 1907), which treated some dialectal elements, and A. Kryms'kyj's never completed *Ukrainskaja grammatika* (Moscow 1907–1908: vol. 1, fascicles 1, 2, 6; vol. 2, fascicle 1), with a lengthy historical commentary. In the preface to the second edition of his grammar, Zaloznyj characteristically wrote that the reviewers of the first edition "say... that... my grammar does not fit schools. This is true. But where

are they—the schools?''[4] Some of the grammars were republished repeatedly. Obviously, they were used for self-education.[5] They may have contributed to the normalization of the written language, which a contemporary characterized thus: ''As a consequence of the lack of authorization and the absence of a periodical press [before 1906], every author wrote in his own orthography and even in his personal language'' (Lotoc'kyj 3, 167).

Some of these grammars may have been used in the Prosvita society. This organization for adult education was patterned on the institution of the same name in the Austrian Ukraine. Branches of Prosvita started to spring up in the Russian Ukraine in 1905. In Katerynoslav, this happened on October 8, i.e., even before the manifesto of October 17, with village branches opening thereafter. The example of Katerynoslav was followed by Odessa, Kiev, and many other localities in and outside the Ukraine. A total of about 40 Prosvita societies are known to have existed. From the very outset they were allowed in some provinces (Kharkiv and Poltava) and in 1908–1910, during Stolypin's regime, virtually all of them, except in Katerynoslav gubernia, were closed (Stolypin's circular order was dated 20 January 1910: *EU* 2, 2370; Čykalenko II, 40a, 47d, 153d; Lotoc'kyj 2, 126; 3, 87).[6] Prosvita's activity helped to revivify Ukrainian cultural life. Petljura characterized its branches as ''the only centers of a more or less visible [social] life.'' Certainly they were places where the public use of Ukrainian was normal. Petljura also criticized the society, stating in the social-democratic jargon of the time (1908) that its branches mostly united the ''Ukrainian bourgeois intelligentsia'' (Petljura 121) and not the workers, partly because of the relatively high membership dues and partly as a result of administrative persecutions. Some bridges between intellectuals and peasants were built, however, during the short period the Prosvita branches existed.

The Orthodox church remained Russian. Yet here, too, there was a minor innovation, that is, the publication of the Gospel in Ukrainian translation. As late as June 1904, the imperial minister of interior affairs, V. Pleve, refused permission for such a publication, because of ''the extreme paucity of the Little Russian language [making it] entirely unfit to express

[4] Quoted after V. Vaščenko, ''Perši pidručnyky z ukrajins'koji movy,'' *Ukrajins'ka mova i literatura v školi*, 1961, no. 5, p. 84.

[5] The fifth grammar, I. Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's *Hramatyka ukrajins'koji movy*, pt. 1: *Etymolohija* (Kiev, 1914) and pt. 2: *Syntaksys* (Kiev, 1914), was actually more of a discussion about the nature of standard Ukrainian.

[6] In justifying this act, Stolypin reported to the Senate that the cultural activity of Ukrainians was undesirable because ''the three principal branches of the Eastern Slavdom by their origin and by their language cannot but constitute a unity'' (quoted in Lotoc'kyj 3, 87).

abstract notions in general and the lofty truths of the Revelation in particular,'' and because of ''the quite satisfactory knowledge by the local Little Russian population of the Russian language'' (Lotoc'kyj 2, 390). Yet in 1905, responding to a request by the Russian Academy of Sciences, the new minister, P. Svjatopolk-Mirskij, stated that ''for the publication of the Gospel in the Little Russian dialect, there are, on my part, no objections'' (18 October 1905: Lotoc'kyj 2, 396). A translation by P. Moračevs'kyj (1806–1879) that was made in 1860 went under thorough revision by a committee of the Academy of Sciences comprising four academicians (Korš, Šaxmatov, Fortunatov, Kokovcev) and seven members of the Ukrainian community of St. Petersburg, and then by another committee, headed by the archbishop of Podolia, Parfenij Levyc'kyj, in Kamjanec'-Podil's'kyj (later in Tula). Moračevs'kyj's translation was finally published in 1906–1911, more than forty-five years after its completion. It was never used in any church service. The Orthodox church in the Ukraine as an institution remained Russian from the lowest to the highest levels. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew was a first breach in the solid edifice. In one year 100,000 copies were sold (Kistjakivs'kyj 139).[7]

A novelty of the period 1905–1914 was the de facto legalization of the Ukrainian language for scholarly use, primarily in the humanities. The Ukrainian Scholarly Society in Kiev founded by M. Hruševs'kyj in 1908 organized Ukrainian public lectures, conferences, and panels, mainly on subjects of Ukrainian history (cf. Petljura 2, 278ff.). From 1908 it published a series of *Zapysky* with scholarly materials, and in 1914 the society began to publish the quarterly *Ukrajina*. Topically, however, these publications focused almost entirely on Ukrainian historical subjects. Outside the confines of the society Ukrainian was still excluded from scholarly usage, e.g., from the Archaeological Congress of 1912 in Černihiv (Lotoc'kyj 2, 147). A Ukrainian university remained a dream. In 1914 a clandestine institution having such a name arose in St. Petersburg; it functioned until 1917, but in fact it constituted but several courses on Ukrainian topics conducted at private homes (Lotoc'kyj 2, 325ff.).

[7] At about the same time teaching in Ukrainian was allowed at the two-year parochial schools of the Podolia diocese, where the community wanted it; this entailed teaching Ukrainian as a subject in the Vinnycja parochial teachers school. (The ukase of the Holy Synod is published in *Ukrajina*, 1907, 12, 78ff.) Granted on 12 October 1910, this permission was withdrawn in 1912 (Lotoc'kyj 3, 102). In the years of reaction the same Parfenij hampered the publication of the Acts and Epistles in Ukrainian.

Substantial developments took place in Ukrainian lexicography. Preceded by the Russian-Ukrainian dictionaries of M. Umanec' and A. Spilka (pseudonyms for M. Komarov and the Odessa Hromada) published in Lviv, 1893–1898 (but compiled in Odessa) and of Je. Tymčenko published in Kiev 1897–1899, the Ukrainian-Russian dictionary by V. Dubrovs'kyj appeared in Kiev in 1909. To establish technological terminology, publications such as dictionaries of various handicrafts and popular technology were important; e.g., those by V. Vasilenko (Kharkiv, 1902) and by a Kievan group published in the *Zapysky* of the Ukrainian Scholarly Society (1911–1915).

Of crucial importance was the four-volume Ukrainian-Russian dictionary edited by B. Hrinčenko (Kiev, 1909). This dictionary was initiated in 1861 by P. Kuliš. Its preparation continued under the patronage of the Kiev Hromada by such luminaries as P. Žytec'kyj, V. Naumenko, and Je. Tymčenko, who were successively chief editors. In 1902 Hrinčenko was engaged to give final form to the dictionary. P. Žytec'kyj and K. Myxal'čuk served as his consultants. The tenor of the whole work was to present an undiluted popular language while avoiding all the "forged" (*kovani*) words which had infiltrated it since the 1870s. Accordingly, the sources of the dictionary included ethnographic records, literary works published before 1870 or by writers working before that date, and selected materials drawn from earlier dictionaries or recorded in rural speech. Thus the chronological framework of the dictionary was 1798–1870, although the latter date was often transgressed. Popular technological terminology was given much attention, whereas loanwords of recent date were more often than not excluded. Although it was essentially a collection of vocabulary actually used by primarily rural speakers, the dictionary managed to avoid excessive regionalization, in fact, for most words it marked the locality of use and normalized the material phonetically, accentually, and morphologically. Thanks to these techniques, it became a *sui generis* summary of the Ukrainian literary language before that language transferred from the peasantry to the intelligentsia. At the same time, it projected some principles and bases for the Ukrainian language's future standardization. The impact of Hrinčenko's dictionary, with its 68,000 entries, can thus hardly be overestimated.[8]

[8] More information about the engagement of Hrinčenko to work on the dictionary can be found in Čykalenko 302ff. From a letter by his widow Maria to A. Šaxmatov dated 19 October 1910, we know that Hrinčenko was unhappy with the Ukrainian-Russian character of his dictionary and planned a thoroughly Ukrainian explanatory one (Dzendzelivs'kyj 80). His untimely death, at the age of forty-six, precluded practical work on that project.

The rapid and remarkable growth of manifestations of Ukrainian culture in the Ukrainian language brought the question of the Ukrainian language into the political arena. Here the Ukrainian position was very weak—as B. Kistjakivs'kyj put it, "in the political sense the Ukrainians are so far a *quantité négligeable*; nobody can put this in doubt" (136)—but the very appearance of Ukrainians in a political context stirred concern. In the elections to the First Duma, Ukrainians knew they would probably not win seats on their own, and in fact only one deputy from the Ukrainian list was elected, V. Šemet, from Poltava (Čykalenko 421). Ukrainians regularly supported one of the Russian parties, most frequently the Kadets, although their Ukrainian program was very moderate—no more than the establishment of Ukrainian elementary schools in villages.[9] Once the Duma had been elected, however, it proved to include a relatively large group of Ukrainian deputies, and they soon formed a Ukrainian faction. The Second Duma had a Ukrainian faction of 47 deputies (Čykalenko 422ff.); their demands were quite moderate: generally speaking, they sought the establishment of Ukrainian elementary schools in villages. A plan for the project was submitted in March of 1908 by 38 deputies of the Third Duma (Hruševs'kyj 4); this Duma established a special commission on education in the native languages, but Ukrainian was excluded from its agenda (Hruševs'kyj 10).

This was a far cry from real political demands, but it was enough to disturb advocates of the idea of a Great Russia and a Great Russian culture. They feared that behind the modest groupings and even more modest demands might exist the dynamics for the cultural separatism of the Ukraine, to be followed, who could know, by political independence, which would be tantamount to the destruction of Russia as an empire. One Russian of such mind was P. Struve. In 1911, he deemed it appropriate to initiate a discussion on the Ukrainian problem. Having launched the idea that Russian culture encompasses "Great Russian," "Little Russian," and "Belorussian," he insisted that Ukrainian culture does not exist and that its partisans are attempting to create it artificially. He concluded, "I am deeply convinced that, for instance, the introduction in high (*srednej i vysšej*) school of the Little Russian language would be an artificial and unjustifiable waste of the psychological force of the population" (Struve 1911, 187). The growth of Ukrainian culture was to him but a "nationalistic multiplication of cultures."

[9] Cf. the program of the Ukrainian Democratic-Radical Party, which sought autonomy for the Ukraine and for recognition of Ukrainian as a state language, to be used on all levels of education (Čykalenko 416, 418f).

Attacking Ukrainians and the Ukrainian language was nothing new by this time. But the attacks were usually waged by extreme Russian nationalists such as T. Florinskij or I. Filevič, who espoused the official view of *triedinyj russkij narod* (one tripartite Russian people) and whose writings bordered on political denunciations.[10] Of like mind was I. Sikorskij, a Kiev psychologist. In a paper read at the Club of Russian Nationalists in Kiev (7 February 1913) and published as the pamphlet *Russkie i ukraincy* the same year, he tried to prove that there is no psychological difference between Ukrainians and Russians and that therefore Ukrainian and Russian are two parallel languages different in sound ("phonetics") but identical in spirit ("psychology"). The existence of such languages, he proclaimed, was "a luxury which nature usually does not tolerate" (quoted from F. Korš, "Nacionalističeskaja nauka," *Ukrainskaja žizn'*, 1913, no. 7/8, p. 20).

Russian conservative and nationalist newspapers, especially from 1911, abounded in aggressive and violent attacks against the Ukrainian movement and against the use of the Ukrainian language. To note one example, in *Kievljanin* for 17 November 1911, in an article entitled "Where is the principal enemy?," A. Savenko wrote: "The Mazepinist question hits Russia at the very foundation of her ability to be a great power (*osnova ee velikoderžavija*). . . .The self-preservation of the great Russian people as a nation and as a state imperatively points to the necessity of a resolute struggle with Mazepinism."

As a second example, in St. Petersburg's *Novoe vremja* for 12 December 1911 M. Men'šikov declared: "The fanatics of Mazepinism speak louder and louder in preparing the break-away of giant Little Russia from Russia.. . . The most frightening portent for the disintegration of the Empire is so-called Mazepinism, i.e., the fervent preparation of a mutiny in Little Russia. . . . A common language must be considered the foremost national task. No obstacles should stand in the way of its materialization. . . . Not only the official language (that of law, of administration, and of the courts), but also the social language of a nation should be one. The supremacy of the official language should be defended by us Russians with the same energy as our own lives." Men'šikov concluded: "Under the name of Ukrainian *hromady*, numerous Little Russian–Polish–Jewish circles act to corrupt students and teachers of public schools, to inculcate in them, and

[10] This boundary was actually transgressed by a "monograph": S. Ščegolev's *Ukrainskoe dviženie kak sovremennyj ètap južnorusskogo separatizma* (Kiev, 1912), 558 pp., and the abridged version, *Sovremennoe ukrainstvo, ego proisxoždenie, rost i zadači* (Kiev, 1914), 158 pp. For a characterization of Ščegolev's writings see S. Jefremov in *Ukrainskaja žizn'*, 1912, no. 4, pp. 7–8, and 1913, no. 1, p. 2; also see S. Petljura in *Ukrainskaja žizn'*, 1913, no. 11. Lenin, 1912, no. 10 labeled them "the *Zitatensack* of a police spy."

through them also to common people, the most ferocious hatred of the Russian people and state. It is high time not only to take notice of this development—it has been noticed since long ago—but also to fight it to the death.'' Men'šikov titled his article ''Nacionalnaja treščina'' (The crack in the nation).

The aim of such articles was to incite a panic in conservative Russian circles which could lead to the destruction of Ukrainian institutions and personalities, be it by the government or public reaction. That aim was achieved. When Savenko came to St. Petersburg to lecture on ''The Mazepinist movement in the South of Russia,'' the public attracted to the All-Russian National Club was so numerous that the auditorium was ''full to overflowing'' (*bitkom nabityj*), as *Novoe vremja* of 12 December 1911 reported.

In comparison to such adversaries, Struve's statements against Ukrainian culture and language sounded moderate. But as Petljura appropriately put it: ''We observe in the making the shift (*sdvig*) of Russian liberalism towards Great Russian nationalism, which without any subterfuge vents a clearly zoological hatred'' (*Ukrainskaja žizn'*, 1913, 3, 74). By contrast, B. Kistjakivs'kyj (under the pen name Ukrainec) urged ''a further development of the Ukrainian people . . . in a bond with and in a close, all-faceted solidarity'' with the Russians (132), but protected against ''the basic feature characterizing the attitude of the Russian society to Ukrainians—its distinctly expressed selfishness'' (133); he did not exclude the development of a complete Ukrainian language.

Struve presented his *profession de foi* in the programmatic article ''Obščerusskaja kul'tura i ukrainskij partikuljarizm'' in 1912. Struve observed that by then the Ukrainian liberation movement engaged primarily intellectuals but had but little urban support. But he also envisaged that a union between the intellectuals and masses was not impossible, and that such a development would mean the end of the Russian Empire. Struve stated: ''If the 'Ukrainian' idea of the intellectuals strikes the people's earth and sets it afire, this is fraught with a gigantic and unprecedented split of the Russian nation'' (85). Frightened by any such prospect Struve comforts himself that ''capitalism speaks and will speak Russian'' and that the dominance of the Russian language in the Ukraine's large cities is irreversible, so that a switch to Ukrainian there would be as unthinkable as a switch of Hamburg capitalists from High to Low German (81) (he forgot that in Prague, for example, capitalists did switch from speaking German to speaking Czech). But his fear does not desist. The conclusion he arrives at is that Ukrainian should be limited to being a regional idiom, while all national, cultural, and political functions are to be conducted and expressed

solely in Russian for the entire area of the tripartite Russian nation (he does not use this Black Hundred expression, but comes right up to it).

This evolution of Struve's views led the Kadet (Constitutional-Democratic) party, of which he had once been a leader, to dissociate from him in the spring of 1912. A wide discussion on related topics shook the Kadet party in 1914, but Struve held fast to his views. After the outbreak of war and the Russian occupation of Galicia, he quite consistently called for "a deep and broad Russification of Galicia" (quoted from Pipes 679ff., who also provides a bibliography of these polemics; see also Lotoc'kyj 2, 409, 411, who also refers to F. Korš's articles in these discussions, pp. 335, 345). For the politician, this situation reflects the confluence of Russian liberalism with Russian chauvinism, but for the linguist it shows that the Ukrainian language at that time was attaining a position competitive with Russian, at least programmatically. The very fact that discussions on the function and maturity of the Ukrainian language took place was a manifestation of the language's development, of its coming of age. Followed with great curiosity by many Russianized Ukrainians, these discussions helped them to clarify their positions and to choose whether to convert to speaking Ukrainian.[11]

The problem of the Ukraine and the Ukrainian language also attracted attention on the left pole of Russian political thought. True, among the Social-Democrats/Bolsheviks the Ukrainian issue was treated within a more general discussion of the party program on the nationalities question; but an analysis of Lenin's notes clearly shows that a keen interest in the Ukrainian question sparked his work on the nationalities. Lenin began by reading and quoting from Struve's and Kistjakivs'kyj's articles in *Russkaja mysl'*, went on to study Ščegolev's notorious book on the Ukrainian movement, and then proceeded to M. Hruševs'kyj's *Ukrainstvo v Rossii: Ego zaprosy i nuždy* and to M. Slavyns'kyj's article "Formy nacional'nogo dviženija." Not included in Lenin's *Polnoe* (sic!) *sobranie sočinenij*, these notes were published in *Leninskij sbornik*, vol. 30 (Moscow: Partizdat, 1937), pp. 8–29. Lenin twice labelled Hruševs'kyj's views "reactionary" (pp. 11, 26).

[11] A typical illustration of these developments is given in Fedenko's reminiscences, where he describes a circle of young people in the small Ukrainian town of Oleksandrija, near Kirovohrad (pp. 12–15). The circle, whose members were mostly students of the local *himnazija*, used Russian as the language of their discussions. In 1912 the first Ukrainian circle of that type was founded, and some students switched to using Ukrainian in their private conversations. Fedenko mentions these developments in connection with the debates in the *Duma* that same year (see below); they could also have been connected to the Struve-Kistjakivs'kyj discussion. In any case the timing of the "Oleksandrian breakthrough" was not accidental.

Interest in the Ukrainian issue was also aroused by discussions of the Ukrainian language question in the Duma and by the activities of Ukrainian representatives there. The abortive First Duma (1906) did not exist long enough to pursue any broad discussion of the Ukrainian question. But the rise of a Ukrainian faction there, forty-four persons strong, led by I. Šrah, and its publication of the periodical *Ukrainskij vestnik* (in Russian) were telling. Characteristically, the majority of the faction were peasants, some even illiterate; in fact, many of them learned of the national aspects of the Ukrainian issue only at the Duma (Lotoc'kyj 3, 7, 12).[12] Two of these representatives, A. Hrabovec'kyj from the Kiev and M. Onac'kyj from the Poltava province, delivered speeches at the Duma in Ukrainian (Lotoc'kyj 3, 17, 49), perhaps because their Russian was faulty, although Dorošenko maintained (1949, 83) that they spoke Russian well and used Ukrainian out of principle. Presumably the Ukrainian activities in the Duma could not have failed to impress many, but the low percentage of participating intellectuals—which reflected the actual situation in the country—could hardly have enhanced the prestige of the Ukrainian language.

Of the forty-seven members of the Ukrainian faction in the Second Duma (1907), six belonged to the intelligentsia, and the remaining forty-one were peasants (Lotoc'kyj 3, 22). The political program of the faction rejected secession but demanded the "resolute and irrevocable reorganization of the [regional] government in the sense of national and territorial autonomy" (Lotoc'kyj 3, 25). The faction's organ, *Ridna sprava*, was published in Ukrainian.

The Third Duma (1907–1912) was elected under controls designed to yield as docile a body as possible. Having but a minimal oppositional group, it was not an institution capable of conceding to even the most moderate Ukrainian demands. The Third Duma had no Ukrainian faction, and Ukrainian interests were at best represented by one intellectual, Professor I. Lučyc'kyj (according to Čykalenko II, 41c, d, only lukewarmly), and by several priests. Nonetheless the opposition did try to propagate independent views. The demand for Ukrainian elementary schools was raised virtually every year, especially when the budget of the Ministry of Education was debated, along with similar demands of the other non-Russian nationalities of the empire. On the agenda of the Third Duma it was a marginal

[12] In 1910, a representative to the Third Duma from Podolia, M. Senderko, an advocate of the use of Ukrainian in the elementary school, reported about reading a Ukrainian text to peasants in his village: "The news that a Ukrainian literature existed was a pleasant surprise to my listeners, and the reading, in Ukrainian, of the Gospel, newspapers, and [an agricultural pamphlet by] Čykalenko enraptured them." (*Stenogr.* 1910, 1252.)

question. In a summary of that Duma's activities (*Nacionalisty v 3-ej Gosudarstvennoj Dume*), the Russian Nationalists devoted 146 pages out of the total of 325 to national problems, yet Ukrainian matters occupy only some scant four pages of that 146.

In the fall of 1910 the government submitted to the Duma a plan for general elementary education throughout the empire. The project caused a prolonged and passionate discussion, especially on the question of whether the language of instruction should be Russian or the native languages of the children. In the stenographic record of the sessions, these matters cover 1,260 pages, but the Ukrainian aspects of them, barely 21 pages.[13] The question was explicitly raised in speeches by N. Čxeidze, A. Bulat, Lučyc'kyj, F. Rodičev, M. Senderko, P. Miljukov, and K. Zaviša (*Stenogr.* 1910, pp. 682, 899, 1106ff., 1226, 1250, 1263, 1322, 1799), not to mention the times when Ukrainian was meant implicitly although non-Russian languages in general were being spoken of. The outcome of the discussion was predetermined by the makeup of the Duma. Amendments to the government's plan were defeated by 178 votes to 102 (*Stenogr.* 1910, 1278). But public interest in the problem had been aroused. It may be that the public discussion of the Ukrainian question in the press initiated by Struve was to some extent promoted by these debates. In the Duma itself, the conservative deputy V. Aleksandrov summarized the importance of the problem of national languages in school as follows: "We are convinced that on the solution of this question will depend whether Russia will be the one and indivisible nation or it will head toward autonomy, union, and federation" (*Stenogr.* 437).[14]

[13] This figure is not quite fair as an indicator, because the discussion encompassed a whole gamut of problems—including ones as important as the transference of church schools to the secular administration and universal compulsory education—that concerned the whole empire, including the Ukraine.

[14] As for the schools, the total exclusion of Ukrainian that was the common practice was to be formulated into law according to the proposal of D. Pixno, a member of the State Council. On 4 April 1912 he suggested that the following statement be included in the school legislation: "The Little Russian and Belorussian population is not considered to speak other languages (*inojazyčnym*)" (Gosudarstvennyj Sovet, *Stenografičeskie otčety*, for 1911–1912, 7th session, meetings 1–81 [St. Petersburg, 1912], p. 2924). On April 6, Pixno withdrew this rather naive pronouncement (p. 2924) in order to replace it, on April 7, with the following: "In localities with a Little Russian and Belorussian population, all subjects shall be taught in the Russian language starting from the first grade" (p. 3050). This amendment was adopted by a vote of 73 vs. 51 (3051). A special commission (*soglasitel'naja kommissija*) comprising seven members from the State Council and seven from the Duma was formed (p. 3864). For the reaction of Ukrainian politicians, see O. Belousenko [O. Lotoc'kyj], "Lex Pichniana," *Ukrainskaja žizn'*, 1912, no. 5, p. 30ff.

In the slightly less conservative Fourth Duma (1912–1917) Ukrainians put forward a program for Ukrainian to be used in elementary and (as a subject) in other schools, as well as in church, in courts, and public offices, which was supported by the factions of the Kadets and the *trudoviki* (Lotoc'kyj 3, 64). Discussion of these problems, again in the context of the other non-Russian languages, arose at debates of the budget of the Ministry of Education. This occurred especially in 1913, when the issue figured in the speeches of A. Šingarev, V. Bobrinskij, V. Dzjubinskij, V. Gelovani, A. Aleksandrov, P. Miljukov, A. Kerenskij, and H. Petrovs'kyj.[15]

As a separate problem the Ukrainian question first came to the fore in February 1914, when the Minister of Interior M. Maklakov prohibited any celebration of the centenary of Taras Ševčenko's birth. A similar prohibition had been made in 1911, the fiftieth year after the poet's death, but then it had passed virtually unnoticed. That was not the case in 1914.

In the Duma debate, various parties attempted to use the government measures in their own interest. The left was not interested in the national aspects of the event. To them, Ševčenko was "a great Russian poet" (Gelovani, *Stenogr.* 1914, 707), "a remarkable Russian man" (Čxeidze, 1165), and the interpellation was but another means to incite the people against the government.[16] For the Kadets (led by Miljukov), any grand-scale commemoration of the event was objectionable, for it nourished nationalistic feelings among the Ukrainians and weakened "the medium attitude which fortunately still prevails in the Ukraine" (*Stenogr.* 1914, 905). The militant Russian nationalists approved of the government measures because, in their opinion, they precluded the spread of separatism ("the movement that is now developing so broadly in Austria and that has spread and contaminated, to our horror, part of the masses in Russia"; V. Puriškevič, 721). But there were also voices that referred to Ukrainian strivings for autonomy (V. Dzjubinskij, 900) and to the lost Ukrainian liberties (F. Rodičev, 716). All in all, despite all the misuses and misunderstandings, it was the first time that the whole question of the Ukraine and the Ukrainian language had been taken up by the most resonant forum the Russian Empire had. The discussion in the Duma ended with its condemnation of the Ministry of Interior for unlawful acts in a vote of 161 to 115; *Stenogr.* 1914, 1206). The Ukraine reacted with demonstrations in the

[15] *Stenogr.*, 1913, pp. 1007, 1010, 1074ff., 1142, 1333, 1513, 1678, 1695, 1778ff.

[16] This was also the position of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democrats (Bolsheviks) in 1913. See Tymošenko 1, 243ff.

streets of many cities.[17] Perhaps most telling about the changing role of the Ukrainian language was that in Odessa the reactionary Sojuz russkogo naroda (Union of Russian Nationalists), published its program in Ukrainian translation (according to A. Bur'janov, *Stenogr.* 1914, 1182)!

Yet the actual position of the Ukrainian language remained essentially unchanged in 1906–1914, except for the demise of the ban on publications: there were no Ukrainian schools, and Ukrainian was continuously excluded from public life. The propaganda machine of the regime, of the Black Hundred, and of the Russianized upper classes in the Ukraine was much more powerful than that of the Ukrainians and their supporters. The prestige of the Ukrainian language remained low in Russia and in the Ukraine's large cities. Ukrainian was not only officially misrepresented as a dialect of Russian, but it was also used, alongside Russian dialects, to indicate colloquial speech by virtually all Russian writers, from Bunin to Gor'kij. This usage promoted an irate protest by V. Vynnyčenko, in his "Otkrytoe pis'mo k russkim pisateljam" (*Ukrainskaja žizn'* 1913, 10). Even in the Ukrainian countryside opinions were split: there were among peasants both partisans and adversaries of Ukrainian education, and we have no means to establish their ratio. M. Hruševs'kyj wrote a series of articles designed to defend Ukrainian education that was published in the peasant newspaper *Selo* (1910, 1911), later collected in his *Pro ukrajins'ku movy i ukrajins'ku školu* (2nd ed., Kiev, 1913). There he wrote: "Those who do not support education in Ukrainian usually reason like this: the Ukrainian language is a *muzhik* language, it does not open any doors. Children of the masters will be taught in Russian, and the children of *muzhiks*, in Ukrainian. The masters' children will find all the doors open; the peasants', none anywhere" (Hruševs'kyj 30). Even in the Duma a favorite tactic of the extreme right was to make a Ukrainian peasant deputy speak against Ukrainian; it succeeded in that several times (e.g., the speech of M. Andrijčuk; *Stenogr.*, 1910, 1279). The number of Ukrainian intelligentsia was growing rapidly and there were some signs of militancy (M. Jevšan, M. Sribljans'kyj, D. Doncov, et al., as well as some students; see Lotoc'kyj 2, 125, 141, 296), but the number was still extremely small. The nation continued to lack, with few exceptions, upper classes, large cities, and industrial regions; linguistically it remained, at least on the surface, Russian. To gain fully all national functions, as Czech had for the Czechs, Ukrainian had to achieve much more. The status of the Ukrainian language was clearly rising, but the movement had only just begun.

[17] On the demonstration in Kiev, cf. the memoirs by S. Vasyl'čenko, 320.

An unexpected "help" to the cause of the Ukrainian language came from the imperial prime minister, P. Stolypin, the most aggressive implementor of Russian conservative nationalism. While such languages as Georgian, Armenian, Tatar, and Lettish were granted some very limited rights, Ukrainian (and Belorussian) were denied any whatsoever, because whereas the former were the languages of "other groups" incorporated into Russia (*inorodcy*), Ukrainian and Belorussian were officially regarded as branches of the Russian language. The term *inorodcy* clearly bore derogatory connotations. Despite that, the Ukrainian intelligentsia sought to obtain at least some of the rights associated with that status. On 20 January 1910, Stopypin issued an order prohibiting all "inorodčeskie" societies, including, it said, Ukrainian and Jewish ones. A sort of *lapsus calami*, the wording of the order gave Ukrainians legal grounds for claiming such status, although Russian conservative groups continued to insist on the theory of the tripartite Russian nation (e.g., Count V. Bobrinskij, in *Nacionalisty* 141).[18]

The nascent upward movement of the Ukrainian language was interrupted by the outbreak of war with Germany and Austro-Hungary. War was declared on 18 July 1914 (o.s.), and the Ukraine west of the Dnieper was placed under military government as the Kiev military district. Just two days later, on July 20, *Rada*, the only Ukrainian daily, was closed down by the authorities and already published issues of *Svitlo* and *Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk* were confiscated, although none of the publications spoke against the government or the war. On 9 January 1915, all Ukrainian periodicals (as well as Jewish ones) were suspended (Petljura 2, 312), except for *Ridnyj kraj*, which switched to the Russian alphabet (Dorošenko 1, 11). Ukrainians and Jews were clearly considered inimical elements by the imperial military government. The ukase of 1876, never formally repealed, seemed to be in effect once again. The Ukrainian Scholarly Society in Kiev, though not formally suspended, became inactive (Dorošenko 1969, 36). For a short time, the new orders were not applicable in the Odessa military district, but soon they went into effect there, too. The monthly *Osnova*, a replacement for *Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk*, founded in Odessa, was suspended with the publication of its third issue

[18] See also *Stenogr.*, 1913, p. 1074, and the support for the *inorodcy* policy towards Ukrainians by the left, p. 1333. Another disadvantage of not being classified as *inorodcy* pertained to the empire's customs policy. By agreement with Austria (1906), books imported from Austria to Russia in languages other than Russian were duty free; books in Russian were subject to rather high duty. As established by a special letter of the Ministry of Finances of 9 July 1907, Ukrainian books printed in Galicia and Bukovina were to be treated as Russian (Lotoc'kyj 2, 244).

(Dorošenko 1969, 77). *Promin'*, a weekly which Vynnyčenko managed to begin publishing in Moscow in November 1916, was shut down a month later. A circular order by the minister of interior, A. Protopopov, issued 11 December 1916, summarized and reconfirmed all these measures.

The annihilation of everything Ukrainian, including the public use of the language, was a policy that the Russian army soon also imposed in Galicia and Bukovina. Soon after war broke out, on 22 August 1914, Lviv was occupied, and Bukovina and Galicia as far as Peremyšl' came under Russian military and civil rule. All Ukrainian institutions and periodicals, except the Moscophile ones were closed, and the leading Ukrainian intellectuals, including Metropolitan Andrej Šeptyc'kyj, were deported. The dream of the Russian rightists who sought the eradication of Ukrainian culture and literary language, with their strongholds in Lviv and Černivci—a sentiment expressed quite overtly as early as 1912–1913 by many speakers in the Duma (e.g., Gr. Laškarev—*Stenogr.* 1913, 1084 ff.) and promulgated by such societies as the Galicko-Russkoe obščestvo, Russkoe sobranie, Klub obščestvennyx dejatelej, and Slavjanskoe blagotvoritel'noe obščestvo (Lotoc'kyj 2, 463ff.)—seemed about to be fulfilled. P. Struve welcomed the new situation, which promised the stifling of Ukrainian aspirations and the smothering of the Ukrainian language (Petljura 2, 297). A systematic Russification of the newly occupied territories began. Courses of the Russian language for Galician and Bukovinian teachers were established in nearly every city of the two regions, as well as in Kiev and in St. Petersburg (Dorošenko 1, 5). Symbolically, Nicholas II visited Lviv and granted an audience to one of Galicia's Moscophile leaders, V. Dudykevyč (Dorošenko 1, 6). No major acts of resistance to the regime east and west of the Zbruč occurred until late 1915, when an illegal periodical, *Borot'ba*, began to appear (Dorošenko 1, 14, 18). The occupation of Galicia and Bukovina was interrupted in May 1915, but in the early autumn of that year Russia again occupied the eastern part of Galicia and, in June 1916, all of Bukovina. The second Russian regime, headed by Governor F. Trepov and regulated by the "Provisional Rules" of General M. Alekseev, introduced a different policy. Ukrainian elementary schools, the Ukrainian *himnaziji* in Ternopil' and in Černivci, and the Ukrainian teacher's seminary in Ternopil' were spared. Textbooks in Ukrainian, including Šerstjuk's grammar, were brought from the Russian Ukraine—where they were not allowed (Dorošenko 1969, 67 f., 72).

The turnabouts in the war resulted in, among other things, a high number of prisoners held in Austria and Germany, among them many Ukrainians. At the intercession of the Vienna-based Union for Liberation of the Ukraine, in December 1914, Ukrainian prisoners began to be placed into

special camps. Up to 80,000 Ukrainians passed through these camps, which became centers of Ukrainian education. There young Ukrainian men educated in Russian schools had an opportunity to read Ukrainian books and newspapers (some published especially for them, e.g., *Rozvaha* in Freistadt, *Rozsvit* in Rastatt, *Šljax* in Salzwedel), to listen to courses conducted in Ukrainian and, above all, to learn to read and write in Ukrainian. Galicians and Bukovinians led these educational and cultural activities; outstanding among them was V. Simovyč. It was for this audience that Simovyč published popular pamphlets like *Jak staty po-ukrajins'komu hramotnym* (Salzwedel, 1919), as well as the more sophisticated *Praktyčna hramatyka ukrajins'koji movy* (Rastatt, 1918), which became the nucleus of his later, more extensive *Hramatyka ukrajins'koji movy* (Leipzig, s.a. 1921). Simovyč's enlarged grammar became the most influential Ukrainian grammar of its time. It played a part in the standardization of the literary language. Though based on the traditions of S. Smal'-Stoc'kyj, Simovyč's grammar bore witness to his contacts with Ukrainians from Russia and struck a kind of compromise between the two traditions. It is exactly in this respect that its impact on the norms of the literary language was significant and mostly positive. Hence, the episode of the prisoner-of-war camps left a certain imprint on the internal development of the Ukrainian literary language.

It is more difficult to assess the impact of Galicia and Bukovina on the Ukrainians who were part of the Russian army occupying these regions. Čykalenko tells of an encounter with one soldier who switched from Russian to Ukrainian in everyday speech after his contact with the Galician population (II, 9b). We do not know how typical that case was. Čykalenko also mentions that after the occupation of Galicia and Bukovina the sale of Ukrainian books in the Russian Ukraine "rose to unheard-of levels."

Another circumstance of war that had a certain bearing on the Ukrainian language was the formation by Austria of the Regiment of Ukrainian riflemen, or Sičovi stril'ci, in August 1914. Linguistically, this resulted in the revival of Ukrainian military terminology and phraseology after a century and a half of dormancy.

The years of World War I brought no other gains to the Ukrainian language. On the other hand, the new persecutions of the Ukrainian language were too shortlived to effect the gains of the preceding decade. As already noted, the prewar gains consisted mainly of some—small as they were—successes in the use of the Ukrainian language in public life and of relatively widespread propaganda for the Ukrainian language among the Ukrainian and a certain segment of the Russian intelligentsia.

The events of the first sixteen years of the twentieth century should have had, and did have, an impact on the standardization of the Ukrainian literary language and on its very structure. The role of the intelligentsia as the consumer and shaper of the literary language was to be accepted; the orientation on the peasant language was realized to be too narrow and the ties of the literary language to its underlying dialect(s) was to be reassessed and relaxed. Finally, the interrelation of the Central Ukrainian variant of the standard language and its ''Austrian-Ukrainian,'' that is, Galician-Bukovinian variant, as represented by the Lviv koine, was to be resolved especially after the ''barbwired'' boundary between the Russian and the Austrian Ukraine was if not smashed, then positively neutralized. This brought to the fore the problem of a common Ukrainian standard language in all Ukrainian territories. All these problems would be settled through discussion and, since there were no central authoritative institutions that could have settled them in an oral exchange, language discussion became the prerogative of the press and other publications.

After 1905 these problems had become practical and persistent ones. The nascent Ukrainian periodical press in the Russian Ukraine had to solve them not only theoretically, but in everyday usage. How does one say this and how does one write that?—such questions plagued every journalist every time he put pen to paper. His reader reacted to every innovation, accepting some and protesting against others. Hence language discussion concerned not merely the linguist, but every educated Ukrainian. It was due to practical applications that the degree to which Galician elements should be accepted became central to the discussion. Ukrainian journalistic experience and a Ukrainian journalistic language had, after all, existed only in the Austrian Ukraine, as Modest Levyc'kyj, for one, recognized: ''When, starting in 1906, the possibility of publishing newspapers in the Russian Ukraine emerged, it became necessary to transfer from Galicia almost all the lexical material that had accumulated there during those thirty years [from the time of the ukase of 1876]'' (Levyc'kyj 1918, 8). The recalcitrant Nečuj-Levyc'kyj seconded this opinion, in a different tone: ''Publications of the *Zapysky* of the Kiev Scholarly Society, of *Selo*, of *Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk*, of *Zasiv* are sometimes like Galician language schools established in the Russian Ukraine to teach Galician book language, style, and spelling'' (1912, 35).

Galician elements in the journalistic language also constituted a political problem. They made the Ukrainian press difficult to understand for the reader unaccustomed to Galician publications. It is not by chance, then, that these problems were discussed even at the gatherings of political parties. For instance, in the fall of 1905 the convention of the Ukrainian

Democratic Party devoted much attention to a discussion of Ukrainian spelling and made some compromise decisions (Čykalenko 412).

The acceptance of Galician elements was facilitated by a "new view" according to which the literary language was not to be adapted entirely to the peasants' language. In fact, its Galician components made the literary language more acceptable to the new intelligentsia because it was no longer ethnographically conditioned. This fact was also properly noted by contemporaries. Nečuj-Levyc'kyj wrote: "Our young writers lost contact with the people's language. Living in big cities, they became urban, armchair men" (1907, 45). The villainous young writers had to admit that this was indeed so, as M. Kocjubyns'kyj did: "The older writers, our teachers, had a better ear for the living language of the people (this cannot be denied), had a better eye for it than the young ones who have no contacts with the countryside or with the people: instead of the living language they take as their model the book language, often maimed and contaminated." Yet Kocjubyns'kyj continued: "I have hope that like new wine our literary language will after a certain time get rid of the froth and will become pure and strong. Such a transitional period is characteristic of many young literatures" (Kocjubyns'kyj 322).

The needs of current journalism and the new orientation of the literary language made absorption of new elements, including Galician ones, obligatory. Inveterate opponents of the innovations, such as Nečuj-Levyc'kyj, were becoming exceptional. In fact, some turncoats came out of that camp. For instance, B. Hrinčenko, who in 1891 had initiated a campaign against Galicianisms (see chap. 2, above) now, in the pamphlet *Tjažkym šljaxom* (1907), admitted that "a literary language arises from all its dialects," which for the Ukrainian literary language opened the gates to Galician elements: "The [Ukrainian] language will become the best and the most understandable when at its foundation there lies the people's language of the Central (*naddniprjans'koji*) Ukraine with expedient (*potribnymy*) supplements from the people's language of Bukovina and Galicia" (42, 88). In accordance with this turnaround in his views, Hrinčenko included in his dictionary many words from Galician sources. What remained unchanged was the rejection, now as before, of what Hrinčenko considered illegitimate borrowings from other languages—Polish, Russian, or German (49).

How deeply Galician elements penetrated the literary language is evident in their occurrence even in some official Ukrainian-language publications issued by the Russian administration, in the translation of the manifesto of 17 October 1905 initiated by the conservative *Oktjabrist* M. Rodzjanko (Čykalenko II, 153c), and in the pamphlet of the Ministry of Finance, *Zabezpečennja prybutkiv i kapitaliv deržavnymy oščadnyčymy kasamy*

(Insurance of profits and stocks in the State Saving Banks; 1910)—which angered conservative Russian elements (Ščegolev 304).

Protests were heard not only from Russians. The new journalistic language was, at the beginning, truly difficult for the average reader. Čykalenko (467) saw this as one reason for the financial failure of the first daily in the Russian Ukraine, *Hromads'ka dumka* (1906): "The public, both educated and uneducated, is not accustomed to the Ukrainian newspaper language. ... This is evident from letters sent to us [publishers] as well as from conversations with our readers. They are not accustomed to abstract notions unknown to other people. The language of our newspaper is alien to them, and even those who are sincerely in favor of developing our periodical press are indignant about that language."

Not surprisingly, the old opponent of linguistic innovations, Nečuj-Levyc'kyj, became the mouthpiece for such protest and disaffection. In 1907 he published "S'ohočasna časopysna mova na Ukrajini," and in 1912, *Kryve dzerkalo ukrajins'koji movy* (the latter is in many details a reiteration of the former). Irritated and irate, Nečuj-Levyc'kyj, then a septuagenerian (he was born in 1838) and out of touch with the times, could not understand what caused the changes that were affecting the language. He saw them as a conspiracy wrought either by the Galicians or by M. Hruševs'kyj, who edited *Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk*, *Selo*, and other periodical publications. To Nečuj-Levyc'kyj the language of Lviv was anti-popular and outright bad. Nečuj-Levyc'kyj does not explain where, specifically, its failure lies, but from comments like the ones following it can be assumed that its main problem was an overabundance of foreign components: "Everywhere in Europe as the foundation and the basis (*grunt i osnova*) of literary languages central dialects (*movy*) were taken whose forms and vocabulary cover the widest area, and not subdialects (*pidmovy*) and strange jargons (*hovirky*), sometimes mixed along the borders with [those of] adjacent nations" (1912, 82). Nečuj-Levyc'kyj was willing to accept eight words from Galician literature—*perevažno*, *zdijsnyty*, *vražinnja*, *perevažuvaty*, *zmist*, *vplyv*, *peresvidčytys'*, *nemožlyvyj* (1912, 44)—and "perhaps a few more," but only a few more.[19]

Responses to Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's two attacks came from many fronts. Stešenko, for instance, found reasons for the influx of new words and constructions: "Time was passing, and Galicia exerted its influence upon the Ukraine. The younger [generation] had made Galician novelties in the language their own, for there were no others. ... The older patriots, who like Nečuj now blame the language of our press, did not create a higher

[19] The Galician source of some of these words is dubious.

language for the Ukraine; yet the press and the institutions had to have something.... It is not Hruševs'kyj who takes us to that language, but he and others are prompted by the force of spirit, that primordial force in the face of which the lamentations of nearsighted people who want to hold our nation within the boundaries of domestic use, to the language of the peasant woman Palažka, do not matter'' (Stešenko 315).[20]

M. Žučenko argued mainly from the vantage point of a little-educated speaker for whom Galician influences made Modern Ukrainian sometimes hard to understand, a rather obsolete view for 1912, rooted in an identification of the Ukrainian language with peasant speech. Yet Žučenko understood that the Galician layer in the Ukrainian standard language could not be eliminated. His final conclusion, somewhat contradicting the point of departure of his discussion, was that for the time being Galicianisms were to be accepted, but that they should slowly and gradually be replaced. (One can ask, why replace them once they have been accepted?)

Modest Levyc'kyj reacted to both of Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's pronouncements: to that of 1907 he replied in an article of 1909, and to the one of 1912, in a pamphlet of 1913. Levyc'kyj advised the educated to work for the organic unification of Central Ukrainian and Galician components, lest ''God forbid, we fall into that sad situation that after some time there will be two Ukrainian literary languages'' (1913, 11).[21]

A debate over language was to be expected because of the changes that standard Ukrainian was undergoing. Theoretically the discussion was not very engrossing, for the arguments of both Nečuj-Levyc'kyj and of his opponents often were too impressionistic or entirely subjective and lacking any understanding of language nature and history. The debate was important, however, because it showed that the innovations in the standard language, including the introduction of some Galicianisms, had no convincing adversaries. Inadvertently, the acceptance of the innovations was reaffirmed. In fact, the argumentation against them could have proceeded only from ignorance or from an overtly Russian orientation, or from both. Hrinčenko quoted a reader whose argument exemplified the situation: ''Put aside all things Galician. Although Galicia is our sister, who is closer [to

20 Palažka, a character in one of Nečuj-Levyc'kyj's works, is a rather primitive and narrow-minded villager who speaks in a colorful, traditional vernacular.

21 More detail is given in Shevelov 1966, 83–90. The following two items also belonged to that language discussion: ''Kil'ka jazykovyx uvah'' (editorial), *Dilo*, 27 August 1913 (unavailable to me); and Les' Martovyč, ''Pryčynky do statti i kil'ka jazykovyx uvah,''' *Dilo*, 2 September 1913. F. Korš discussed very much the same problems, albeit his polemics were directed against Russian rather than Ukrainian writers. A bibliography of the polemics on language appears in Tymošenko 2, 231ff., and, more completely, in Lotoc'kyj 2, 334ff.

us] of course than Muscovy, she lives pretty far from us and, to boot, she loafed among various Slavic nations and because of that introduced into her literature a lot of words which to our people seem at the beginning difficult to understand and more foreign than the 'Muscovite' ones because with the latter we had to get accustomed to willy-nilly'' (68). In the same vein was the complaint of a reader of *Hromads'ka dumka*, who asked for the meaning of the words *urjad* 'government' and *rux* 'movement' (among others) and after having received explanations advised that they be replaced by *pravytel'stvo* and *dvyženye*, respectively—that is, by the Russian equivalents (Čykalenko 467).

The discussions of 1907–1909 and 1912–1913 did not change the course of Ukrainian language development. Writers and journalists of the middle and younger generations generally accepted many innovations whose function was to urbanize the standard language and to broaden its dialectal base from Central Ukrainian to Central and West Ukrainian. In a more general formulation these ideas were expressed, in 1911, by V. Hnatjuk: ''Every peasant thoroughly knows his language (of course, practically), but only as his dialect. Every dialect can serve as the foundation for creating a literary language, but it cannot be one alone because it is too poor to supply all the notions necessary for a cultured nation. Those notions are taken from other dialects, from other languages living and dead, and especially they are created independently of other dialects and languages while using the general foundations of the language.''[22] Similar ideas were expressed about culture in general (with language a component): ''If a nation produces forces which can develop a higher national culture, it would be futile and even harmful for the development of the masses of people to direct these forces in the channel of 'popularization.' And the more conscious element of the masses of people understands perfectly well the enormous value of the higher national culture, for the achievements of which they already raise their requests and demands" (Petljura 2, 235 [1912]). A kind of linguistic commentary to these ideas was supplied by Nečuj-Levyc'kyj. He described his meeting with a journalist who happened to be Symon Petljura thus: ''I often meet students and they speak the Ukrainian vernacular; only one student, S. Petljura, spoke with me so that I asked him if he was not from Galicia'' (1912, 12).

[22] Quoted from Tymošenko 2, 213. In a similar vein, F. Korš said about the discrepancies between Galician and other elements in the standard Ukrainian language: ''Such a lack of harmony (*rasnogolosica*) is unavoidable at the beginning of the formation of any literary language'' (''Nacionalističeskaja nauka,'' *Ukrainskaja žizn'*, 1913, no. 7/8, p. 321).

Yet Petljura was not alone. Simovyč reminisces that Lesja Ukrajinka was very accepting of Galician influences in the language, and that she reproached only M. Hruševs'kyj's language because "he made his language exceedingly Galicianized" (1938, 50). The language of her works contains a great many Galician and "extradialectal" elements.[23] Similar was the stand of M. Kocjubyns'kyj. He grew up in Podolia, where the dialect was transitional from Central Ukrainian to some Galician usages. Kocjubyns'kyj did not, however, write in dialect. Except in his earliest, immature works, he worked on his language systematically, striving to write in a superdialectal standard language that had absorbed various dialectal elements to become pliable, rich, and contemporary. While introducing a number of less familiar words into his work,[24] he did not lose sight of the criteria of understandability and an all-Ukrainian character for the resulting literary language. Hence his objections against works written in Galician dialects, such as those by S. Kovaliv, about which he wrote in November 1899: "The language of those short stories strikes one with its exceedingly local character, and even I, who considers the language of Galicia his own, occasionally cannot understand what Mr. Kovaliv is writing" (Kocjubyns'kyj 238); he also objected to superfluous regional terms. Thus in publishing the work of the Bukovinian writer Ol'ha Kobyljans'ka, Kocjubyns'kyj pleaded for her permission to replace some local words with those used in the standard language (25 October 1902; Kocjubyns'kyj 273). Particularly welcome to Kocjubyns'kyj were Galician words which conveyed notions of urban life. The Russian Ukraine had not developed a native urban vocabulary, so Kocjubyns'kyj enriched the language of his writings, and by the same token potentially the literary Ukrainian language, with a substantial number of interdialectal borrowings. They did not make his language Galician, but did render it consistently synthetic. As an exacting author and staunch Ukrainian citizen, Kocjubyns'kyj deemed it his duty to build a modern standard language on a polydialectal foundation.

To one degree or another this same characterization applies to the writings of many other authors of the time, such as M. Voronyj, H. Xotkevyč, and M. Černjavs'kyj. Due to the contemporary developments in literature and in journalism, it was Kiev rather than Lviv that became the main center for the expansion and incorporation of Galician elements. Those elements became an inalienable component of the standard language, modern in terms not only of time, but also of structure, in a systematic departure from

[23] Some of her Galicianisms are collected and analyzed in Shevelov, 1966, 93ff.

[24] A selection with a commentary is given in Shevelov, 1966, 103ff.

the ethnographic tradition that had shaped the language in the nineteenth century, particularly during populism.

The "renovated" standard language that was typical of intelligentsia activists in 1900–1913 also came into vogue among some members of the bourgeoisie, which was beginning to take form in those years. An accurate although very ironic portrait of one such man and his language was given by V. Vynnyčenko in his novel *Božky* (Idols):

> At that time a man came in, Skalozub. He was a slender, well-proportioned young man blamelessly dressed in the European manner, in a black tie, gloves, in patent-leather shoes with the uppers in yellow chamois.... He behaved with an emphasized, refined official politeness. He spoke like a Galician although he had visited Galicia not more than twice and for a short time. He liked to use expressions little known in the [Russian] Ukraine and admired himself because of that somewhat. Skalozub dressed in the European way and spoke with an excess of Galicianisms not so much because he personally loved that manner, but mainly for the idea's sake, out of principle. Usually people deem Ukrainians a peasant, coarse nation. A Ukrainian, in other words that means a *muzhik*. For this reason Skalozub seemed to have taken it as an obligation to prove, by his own example, that Ukrainians were not *muzhiks* alone, that some of them dress in the European fashion, have good manners, and speak Ukrainian, but not the *muzhik* Ukrainian. Since he was a rich man, owner of many thousands of *desjatyna*s of land, of factories and mines, he bore the banner of his being Ukrainian in a confident hand. Previously he belonged to a certain current within the Ukrainian community whose task was to oppose Russification.... The Ukraine for Ukrainians, down with Russians, Poles, and Jews! That was their program (*Tvory*, 244ff.).

As the result of all these combined processes, by 1914 the Ukrainian language could no longer claim that its *raison d'être* was understandability to the peasant. Whether contemporaries were aware of it or not, the Ukrainian language's main function became to preserve the national cultural tradition as deposited in works of literature, and to be a political banner for a nation in the making, or, one should say, in the process of reviving on new, modern foundations. As Franko put it in 1907: "the literary language becomes, in fact, the representative of national unity, a common link for all its own dialects, which combines them into an organic unity" (Franko 338).[25]

[25] The argument that the elevated Ukrainian language was incomprehensible to the uneducated passed, in fact, to the adversaries of a Ukrainian literary language (see, e.g., the speech of K. Rudič in the State Duma of 12 December 1914—*Stenogr.* 1914, 778). They forgot that the elevated Russian language was equally or even more incomprehensible to the Russian peasant of that time.

IV. THE YEARS OF THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE (1917–1920)

The so-called February revolution that broke out in St. Petersburg (actually, on 12 March 1917) was an event essentially grounded in Russian social and political conflicts. Yet the deposing of the tsar and the virtual end of the monarchy could not but deeply affect the Russian Ukraine. The immediate effect was the revival of an active political life on an unprecedented scale, which opened new prospects for the public use of the Ukrainian language. This development was reflected in the rapid formation of a Ukrainian government and the revival or formation of diverse Ukrainian political parties. Very soon the activized use of the Ukrainian language encompassed a very high number of functions in other areas, among them military, juridical, financial, educational, and scientific, which until then were off limits for the Ukrainian language in the Russian Ukraine.

The government took the first step in Kiev in March 1917. The Society of Ukrainian Progressives (TUP, in existence since 1908), the only organized Ukrainian political group to keep functioning, illegally or semilegally, after the outbreak of war in 1914, founded the Ukrainian Central Rada (Council). The Central Rada was conceived as a single-party (i.e., TUP) institution, but from the outset it was reinforced by persons who appeared to represent all the Ukraine but actually represented only Kiev. The Central Rada was drastically enlarged and supplemented at the All-Ukrainian National Congress held 17–21 March 1917, the delegates to which represented the many Ukrainian organizations and institutions that had sprung into being by that time—political, professional, cooperative—as well as the various social classes of the Ukraine, except large landlords and industrialists. By that time the Presidium of the Central Rada alone counted ten members (*Visti z U.C.R.* 1, p. 1). The two All-Ukrainian Military Congresses (held 18 May and 18–23 June 1917) pledged their support to the Central Rada and sent their delegates to replenish it. Without being the government of the country in the strict sense, the Ukrainian Central Rada negotiated with the Russian Provisional Government on the problem of the autonomy of the Ukraine. Soon after the demand for autonomy was rejected, on June 18, the first nucleus of a Ukrainian government was established—the General Secretariat. It provided for "secretaries" (actually ministers) of the interior, of finances, of nationality affairs, of military affairs, of agrarian affairs, of justice, of education, and of food supplies, among others, but not of foreign affairs or of communications, because these were left to the Russian government. By July 20, after its recognition as the representative organ of the Ukraine, the Central Rada, together with

its General Secretariat, until then exclusively Ukrainian, was replenished by representatives of the national minorities—Russians, Jews, and Poles. On 12 November 1917, the General Secretariat was extended to include secretaries of labor, of trade and industry, and of communications. On November 20, the Ukrainian National Republic, in federation with other republics arising from the ruins of the Russian Empire, was proclaimed. Popular support for this act was evidenced by the landslide victory of Ukrainian political parties in the elections to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly in November 1917. Then, on 22 January 1918, these federative links were broken, and the independent Ukrainian National Republic was proclaimed. With the proclamation the secretaries of the General Secretariat became ministers. On April 29, the Constitution of the Ukrainian National Republic was approved and Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj was elected president. The constitution was written in Ukrainian, but it said nothing about the rights of the Ukrainian language or any other language.

The political developments of the first year after the revolution, outlined very briefly here, did not have as strong an impact on the use, status, and internal development of the Ukrainian language as, theoretically, they might have had. One factor was the brevity of time that elapsed: crucial political and even social upheavals can occur within a year, but their impact on language is not reflected immediately. More important factors were the actual situation in the country and the character of the activity of the Central Rada. Of primary concern to the Rada were programmatic debate and the proclamation of overriding government principles. Much less was done about the execution of approved programs. In fact, the executive branch of the Rada and of its government was underdeveloped, if existent at all. For some time, the provincial commissars were appointed by the Russian Provisional Government and were beyond the control of the Rada. When Ukrainian provincial commissars were finally appointed, their ties with Kiev were loose (Dorošenko 1969, 180). All the big cities and even most towns were governed by municipal organs that were alien or hostile to the Rada. The free and truly democratic elections of municipal governments that took place in the summer of 1917 did not change the situation. The results of elections in twenty randomly selected localities show that Ukrainian parties received a majority in only five (Jelysavet, Romen, Loxvycja, Myrhorod, Konotop); only in five others did they garner more than one-third of the elected deputies (Kharkiv, Poltava, Černihiv, Čerkasy, Proskuriv). In Kiev Ukrainian parties received 20 percent of the vote, in Katerynoslav 10 percent, and in Odessa 4 percent (Dorošenko 1, 144).

The social base behind the Rada was the peasantry and the soldiers, that is, its support came primarily from the countryside. The cities were yet to be won, and time would run short for that. The conservative element in the cities was reinforced, especially after the Bolshevik coup of 7 November 1917, by the flight of many members of the upper classes from Russia; on the whole they favored the restoration of the integrity of the Russian Empire, and stood against Ukrainian autonomy or independence. On the other hand, the urban lower classes were organized into the soviets of workers and soldiers, which grew stronger as they succumbed more and more to Bolshevik agitation and propaganda. Although theoretically these soviets accepted the theme of national liberation, essentially they put all their emphasis on socioeconomic demands and tended to use the Russian language, thus contributing to its spread.

In Kiev itself, three political forces—the Ukrainian parties, the conservative Russians, and the basically Russian Bolsheviks—competed for power. On 11 November 1917, the conservative Russians staged an uprising. They were defeated and the Central Rada managed to survive, but only at the price of a temporary alliance with the Bolsheviks. In many other cities and towns the authority of the Ukrainian forces was even weaker. In addition, the Rada's contacts with the provinces were sporadic and uncertain. As a matter of fact, the very boundaries of the country were not stabilized. In the original negotiations and agreement with the Russian Provisional Government, five provinces were said to be under the jurisdiction of the Central Rada—those of Kiev, Poltava, Černihiv, Volhynia, and Podolia. It was in November 1917, that the Rada also claimed the provinces of Kherson, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav (to which most of the Donec' basin belonged), Tavria, without the Crimea, and optionally (by plebiscite) the Ukrainian-populated parts of Kursk, Voronež, and Xolm (the Third Universal, reprinted, e.g., in Dorošenko 1, 179ff.). Even within the original, narrower territories, the ties of the Rada were to a great extent illusory, based on ideology and moral authority rather than on the presence of any organized administrative machinery.

This political situation, coupled with the disorganization and turmoil prevailing throughout the country, explains why the large steps in Ukrainian political, cultural, and linguistic development taken under the Central Rada influenced Ukrainian society much less than might be expected.

The general situation in the Ukraine was faithfully reflected by conditions within the army. After the February Revolution there began in the Russian army a movement to isolate Ukrainians into special units; at first this was done against the general command of the Russian army and later with their consent. It is believed that such Ukrainian units grew to comprise

sixteen divisions. The organization was done on a voluntary basis, and the units lacked stability. Some of these units were not let into the Ukraine, some underwent demoralization and dispersed, some later joined the Bolsheviks. The Ukrainianized units which were on Ukrainian territory were deliberately dispersed or demobilized. The socialist-minded Central Rada and the General Secretariat were lukewarm to the idea of a Ukrainian army, and introduced instead the so-called Free Cossacks, territorial units of men recruited from their native villages, with larger units from each district. They were to be administered, symbolically, not by the military, but by the Ministry of Interior. At their peak, the number of Free Cossacks reached 60,000, but they were demobilized, at the demand of the Germans, in the spring of 1918. A system resembling usual army units was initiated among them at the end of 1917 to early 1918, when war was already raging between the Ukrainian National Republic and Bolshevik Russia, and Kiev was under attack. The Bolshevik leader V. Antonov-Ovseenko estimated the number of defenders of Kiev as up to 20,000, but actually the number was much smaller (Dorošenko 1, 279). At any rate, on 16 January 1918 the Central Rada decided to abolish the regular army in favor of a "People's Militia," and only in April 1918 did systematic work to create a Ukrainian army of eight corps of infantry and four and one-half divisions of cavalry actually begin. According to Vs. Petrov (*EU* 1, 1178), the Ukrainian army at that time actually numbered about 15,000 soldiers. These were hardly favorable conditions for the elaboration of a standard Ukrainian military nomenclature and terminology. That process began only in the early 1918.

Under the Central Rada the Orthodox church remained as before, that is, it continued to be Russian. A council was founded in Kiev in 1917 to organize an autocephalous Ukrainian Orthodox church, but the dominant Russian high clergy blocked the consecration of bishops and the movement was hampered for several years, until late 1921.

The foundation for a Ukrainian monetary system came with the decision of the Central Rada, on 6 January 1918, to issue Ukrainian banknotes, which were to circulate alongside Russian money.

The coup d'état of 29 April 1918 abolished the Central Rada and proclaimed a monarchy with Pavlo Skoropads'kyj as hetman. The Ukrainian National Republic was replaced by an unspecified "Ukrainian State." The next regime dismissed "politicians" and instead sought out "experts." Very often these were Russians, especially members of the Kadet party, who opposed the independence or autonomy of the Ukraine. Such experts even demanded that Russian, alongside Ukrainian, be the official language of the country. If Ukrainian was not able to replace Russian as the vehicle of communication at the time of the Central Rada, it certainly had no

chance to do so under the Hetmanate, although under the new regime Ukrainian culture would develop, as we will see below. The territory of the country was now precisely delimited and well guarded—by the German army of ca. 800,000 men. But the Ukraine was again subject to two competing authorities, one Ukrainian and the other German.

The Germans objected to the organization of a Ukrainian army. A new division of *serdjuky* was organized, but most units underwent disarmament and dissolution, so that in fact only a few units remained. In July 1918, new plans for the army were made, but they were not to be realized. In many of the existing military units the officers were Russians, which certainly did not enhance the prestige of the Ukrainian language. Hetman Skoropads'kyj's military and administrative policies may have been designed to create gradually, through education, new Ukrainian cadres while benefiting from the expertise of Russians. But this was a risky game, because the Russians, once in positions of authority, could easily take the upper hand, and the time was not suitable for slow developments. Thus, the Hetmanate period was in fact a setback for the use and development of the Ukrainian language.

On 14 December 1918, Hetman Skoropads'kyj's regime fell, and the Ukrainian National Republic, now headed by a five-member Directory, was reinstated (December 19). The Directory had little time for formulating domestic policy, however, because its attention was absorbed in struggling against threats to the existence of the country. Internal mutinies of an anarchic or communist character commanded large areas of the Katerynoslav, Kherson, Podolia, Kiev, and Černihiv provinces. Foreign challenges were the French-Greek landing at Odessa, the attack of Denikin's conservative Russian (White) army from the southeast, and, especially, the offensive of the Russian Bolsheviks which began on 17 November 1918, about a week after the revolution in Germany. Kharkiv was lost on 3 January 1919, and Kiev on 5 February 1919. The territory under the authority of the Directory shrank virtually to Western Volhynia and Podolia, with a provisional capital first in Rivne and then in Kamjanec'-Podil's'kyj. When, in the summer of 1919, the Bolsheviks were forced to retreat by Denikin's army and, on the other hand, the army of the Ukrainian National Republic grew to 85,000 men, territory was reconquered as far east as the outposts of Kiev (31 August 1919). Soon Denikin's army advanced westward to the Zbruč, only to flee under the attacks of the Bolsheviks and quit Ukrainian territory in December 1919. The Ukraine was reconquered, now by the Bolsheviks from the northeast and by the Poles from the west. The government of the Ukrainian National Republic had to abandon regular warfare and to switch to partisan tactics (4 December 1919). In 1920, an alliance

with Poland and the Polish-Russian war brought Ukrainian armed units to Kiev (May 7), but they remained for only a month. On 11 November 1920, the last regular units of the army of the Ukrainian National Republic crossed the Zbruč and were interned in Poland, which recognized the Soviet government as the government of the Ukraine. Thus, during the time of the Directory, most of Ukrainian territory was in the hands of either Denikin's army, the Bolsheviks, or the Poles, or under the control of the Romanians (the Ukrainian parts of Bessarabia).

Denikin's policy was ruthlessly to suppress the Ukrainian language and culture, and to thwart any political aspirations. Under the Poles and the Bolsheviks (see chap. 5), circumstances were not favorable either. In the regions under the Directory, conditions were so unstable that no political undertakings, other than those diplomatic or military, were possible. The Ukrainian language, of course, enjoyed all rights under the Directory, but had little opportunity for their expression.

Thus, of the three periods in the struggle for Ukraine's independence—that of the Central Rada, of the Hetmanate, and of the Directory—the relatively most quiet was the middle period. Linguistically, however, the time of the Hetmanate was marred by strong Russian influences on all levels of government. Nevertheless, the advances in status made by the Ukrainian language in the critical years 1917–1920 were substantial, and in many respects crucial, in comparison with the preceding decades. After a lapse of nearly two centuries, the Ukrainian language again became the language of state legislation, of state administration, of public gatherings, and of the army. There was, however, a discrepancy in language use between various levels of administration. Whereas the countryside and the central administration used Ukrainian to conduct business, the cities very often stuck to Russian. Both city and town old-fashioned *dumy* and the newly-formed municipal soviets were strongholds of Russian. The Ukrainian state's time was too short and its stability too uncertain to make the official use of Ukrainian self-understood and generally accepted. Very often the official use of Ukrainian was more of a challenge than a "natural" routine.

Along with the spread of Ukrainian for public and official use, another indisputable development was its functional diversification. There are no direct data about its expansion in urban life, but the indirect evidence, such as the conduct of education and the appearance of Ukrainian publications, speaks eloquently, although there can be no doubt that in large cities, especially those on the periphery of the Ukrainian state which were only briefly and intermittently within its boundaries (i.e., Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, Mykolajiv, and, especially, Odessa and the Donec' basin), Russian was unaffected as the vehicle of public communication. In terms of the language

habits of various social classes, the situation hardly changed. But with the rise of Ukrainian political parties, Ukrainian became more an instrument of discussion and polemics on political matters than it had ever been before. If in early 1917 there was virtually only one Ukrainian political movement that used Ukrainian (i.e., TUP), now all shades of political thought, from the Ukrainian monarchists to liberals to socialists to anarchists and communists, resorted to Ukrainian as a means of communication. Characteristically, nearly every contemporary political party in the Ukraine was split into two parts: e.g., the Ukrainian Social-Democrats and the Russian Social-Democrats, the Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Russian Socialist-Revolutionaries. Among the mostly Russian anarchists and communists, there were small groups and some individuals who defended the rights of, at least, the Ukrainian language. Ukrainian probably also made some gains in terms of professional diversification, but precise data on that development are difficult to find.

More ample and more precise data are available about Ukrainian schools, books, cultural institutions, and the periodical press. In education, the problem of Ukrainian schooling was not an easy one to resolve. There were no precedents, no textbooks, and no experienced teachers of Ukrainian subjects; insufficient numbers of teachers were able to teach in Ukrainian at all. In cities a widespread phenomenon was the protests against education in Ukrainian raised by parents' committees (no data are available about whether this took place in villages as well). The Russian Provisional Government granted approval (in April 1917) for teaching in Ukrainian in elementary schools, with Russian to be taught as a subject from the second grade, as well as for courses on Ukrainian language, literature, history, and geography to be taught at teachers' seminaries, and chairs of Ukrainian language, literature, history, and law to be established at the universities (Dorošenko 1, 389). In July, two Ukrainian high schools (*himnaziji*) were founded (ibid., 396). The relatively radical Second all-Ukrainian Congress of Teachers (meeting August 10–13) demanded that teaching be conducted in Ukrainian in the lowest elementary grades from September 1, and that teachers of the higher grades and on the high-school level be required to attend summer courses to obtain the necessary qualifications for teaching in Ukrainian in the future (Dorošenko 1, 395). During 1917, 53 Ukrainian high schools were founded (Dorošenko 1, 388; according to *EU* 1, 933, the number was as high as 80), whereas the total number of *himnaziji* was about 800 (it was 828 by the end of 1918; Krylov, 35). In the existing Russian high schools, courses in Ukrainian language, literature, history, and geography were introduced, but otherwise these remained Russian (autumn of 1917). In the summer of 1917, up to 100

summer schools were conducted for teachers (Dorošenko 1, 396). In Kiev, the Ukrainian People's University (Ukrajins'kyj narodnij universytet) opened on October 9, followed a month later, on November 7, by the Pedagogical Academy (Dorošenko 1, 399ff.). The private Society for School Education, founded in March 1917, was very active in promoting and organizing education in Ukrainian. In adult education, a fairly wide network of Prosvita Society chapters was developed, with libraries, public lecture programs, etc.; their number, it is estimated, approached 5,000 (*EU* 2, 2370).

In sum, under the Central Rada the development of Ukrainian schooling proceeded slowly and in moderation, with the goal of gradual success over many years. Testimony to how cautious this policy was is a speech delivered by I. Stešenko, Secretary General of Education. On October 8, addressing in Ukrainian teachers of the Kiev school district, Stešenko told them that he was doing so because Ukrainian had become the official language of the country (Dorošenko 1, 397). One has to deduce that before October 8, the language actually used in Ukrainian school administration was Russian. The same conclusion, but this time about provincial administration, can be deduced from Dorošenko's mention (1969, 174) that when he was the provincial commissar of the Central Rada in Černihiv and Černihiv province, the only local commissar who sent him telegrams in Ukrainian was the one stationed in Nižen; apparently all other district commissars communicated in Russian. Such leading military commanders as Generals I. Omeljanovyč-Pavlenko and O. Hrekov were also known to be Russian speakers (ibid., 199).

No break in educational policy was evident with the change in government to the Hetmanate. In accordance with the hetman's declaration, his prime minister, F. Lyzohub, stated that in the spirit of 1918, Ukrainian remained the official language of the country, but Russian was permitted because many did not speak Ukrainian (state officials were to acquire command of Ukrainian; Xrystjuk 3, 35ff.).[42] The two main principles of the Hetmanate's educational policy were to promote the Ukrainianization of the elementary school, and to foster the establishment of new high schools and universities with Ukrainian as the language of instruction, while preserving the existing Russian institutions. About 150 Ukrainian *himnaziji* were founded by late 1918 (Dorošenko 2, 348), and, as already noted, summer schools in Ukrainian subjects were conducted. On the college and university level, the prerevolutionary Russian-language institutions were kept intact, except for the addition of chairs in Ukrainian subjects, but parallel

[42] In practice, this requirement was rarely enforced (Xrystjuk 3, 75).

new institutions were opened, where Ukrainian was the language of instruction: the (incomplete) Ukrainian university at Kamjanec'-Podil's'kyj, with ca. 1,000 students; the nucleus of a university, i.e., a historical-philological faculty, at Poltava, with ca. 200 students; and the People's University in Kiev, later reorganized as the Ukrainian State University, with ca. 3,000 students (Dorošenko 2, 349, 356, 360). National institutions enhancing the prestige of the Ukrainian language and culture were also founded: the Academy of Sciences, the National Library, and some others joined the Pedagogical Academy, the Academy of Arts, and the National Theater established earlier, under the Central Rada. A Ukrainian State Opera was preparing to open (Dorošenko 2, 367). The number of Prosvita branches at that time is given as 952 (Dorošenko 2, 344).

Under the Directory, military conditions and administrative instability precluded any major undertakings in education or culture. A few feverish attempts at outward Ukrainianization—such as the order to replace, within three days, all Russian shop signs with Ukrainian ones (Dorošenko 1969, 400)—were of little consequence.

The situation of the Ukrainian press during this time was determined, on the one hand, by the political awakening of readers (and journalists!), and on the other hand, by the unstable military, political, and economic conditions, which resulted in such purely technical obstacles as lack of paper, and sudden shortages of electricity. Statistically, Ukrainian publishing experienced an explosion. According to Žyvotko (147), the number of Ukrainian periodicals rose to 106 in 1917,[43] and to 212 in 1918. In Kiev alone, as early as the spring of 1917, six dailies had begun publication. Chronologically the first was *Nova rada*, successor to the prerevolutionary *Rada* (from 25 March 1917). Very soon it was joined by the Social-Democrats' *Robitnyča hazeta*, by the Socialist-Revolutionaries' *Narodnja volja* and *Borot'ba* (begun as a weekly), and then somewhat later by *Hromads'ke slovo* and *Promin'*. An important, distinctive feature was the territorial distribution of the press: periodicals appeared in all provincial centers and in many smaller towns, including the Kuban' area and the Ukrainian parts of the Voronež and Kursk provinces. It is estimated that by the end of 1917 about 30 Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Russian dailies were published in towns, with a total of about 100,000 readers (Večernyc'kyj 78). That number grew spectacularly in 1918. The new periodicals were marked by political differentiation, representing all the parties of the time, as well as by professional differentiation, addressing teachers, students, women, children, historians, physicians, military men, agriculturalists, nurses, and postal

[43] According to Dorošenko 1, 403, the number was 63.

workers. There were also periodicals in literature, bibliography, theater, art, cooperation, religion. Three magazines of satire and humor appeared. A novelty of the time were official bulletins initiated by the *Kyjivs'ki hubernijal'ni visti* (bilingual, in Ukrainian and Russian) and *Visti z Ukrajins'koji central'noji rady* and followed by publications of the General Secretariat, headquarters of the army, and various ministries. The publishers were political parties, cooperatives, government offices, *prosvity*, *zemstva* (called now *narodni upravy*), professional organizations, and, of course, private individuals. Even in the most difficult circumstances, when the government was pushed as far west as Kamjanec'-Podil's'kyj, the extent and richness of the new Ukrainian press remained striking.

Yet behind this impressive flourishing there were dark shadows. Most publications were unstable or ephemeral; many were poorly edited and in an uncertain language; the majority were geared to the little-educated reader (among the exceptions were *Nova rada* edited by A. Nikovs'kyj, *Robitnyča hazeta* headed by V. Vynnyčenko, and *Naše mynule* edited by P. Zajcev); little or nothing is known about the circulation of most periodicals. What is certain is that they did not match the long-standing Russian publications, such as *Kievskaja mysl'* and *Južnyj kraj*; during the time of the Hetmanate these Russian publications were joined by such organs of the Russian monarchist emigration as *Russkij golos* in Kiev and *Golos juga* in Odessa.

The effect of the Ukrainian press on the prestige of the Ukrainian language and on its expansion in everyday use was, presumably, twofold. On the one hand, the Ukrainian periodicals spread knowledge about and use of the language. On the other hand, those that were poorly edited could not but compromise the language. Occasionally, the latter provided material for "Ukrainian jokes" directed against the Ukrainian language.

The publication of Ukrainian books was numbered at 747 titles in 1917, 1,084 in 1918, and 665 in 1919, striking figures when compared with the 242 titles published in 1911 (see chap. 3), although the items published in 1917–19 included many small pamphlets. The number of publishers and publishing companies was estimated at 78 in 1917, and 104 in 1918 (*EU* 1, 975ff.), Among published books, school textbooks held a position of special importance. In 1918, circulation of elementary school textbooks, for example, reached 950,000 copies (Dorošenko 2, 369). For other types of publications, some data on circulation can be found in *Knyhar'* (1917, 3, 160): e.g., *Jakoji my xočemo avtonomiji*, by M. Hruševs'kyj, sold 80,000 copies within about four months; his *Iljustrovana istorija Ukrajiny*, sold 19,000 copies in about a month; *Pro narodne samovrjaduvannja*, by V. Koroliv, sold 50,000 copies.

By no means all the books published were satisfactory technically or linguistically. Yet books were in such demand that their publication became a profitable business. An editorial published in *Knyhar'* (1917, 2) described the situation as follows: "Even in small towns publishing enterprises arise, which are unacquainted with our good traditions of 1905 and less so with the earlier ones, and which are unaware of literary customs and publishing ethics. They publish books of dull poetry priced a *karbovanec'* for 24 pages of bungled print. . ., in their endeavor to get into their greedy hands a fresh, even if paperprinted, penny" (p. 50).

Quite extraordinary was the number of books devoted to the Ukrainian language. A tally made from the bibliography by Červins'ka and Dykyj shows that 59 titles published in 1917–19 were designed as manuals for self-instruction in the Ukrainian language, as compared with 11 such items published during the entire preceding century. Some of the manuals appeared in Russian, including *Kratkoe rukovodstvo k izučeniju ukrainskogo jazyka dlja znajuščix russkij jazyk*, by I. Blažkevyč, 39 pp. (1918), and *Dlja russkix na Ukraine: Naibolee legkij i skoryj sposob praktičeskogo izučenija ukrainskogo jazyka* by I. Krok (Kiev, 1918). The average size of these publications was 50 to 60 pages; only 13 items exceeded 100 pages, and only the publications of I. Ohijenko (matched by the works of Simovyč published abroad) had more than 200 pages. The majority appeared in Kiev, Kharkiv, and Odessa, but some were published in such places as Čerkasy, Kozjatyn, Braclav, Romen, and Kherson. The authors varied: some are renowned scholars, and others, unknown persons. Among the former was the history of the Ukrainian language written in Russian by an outstanding Russian scholar: S. Kul'bakin's *Ukrainskij jazyk* (Kharkiv, 1919). Previously, patriotic considerations had prompted the preparation of manuals on the Ukrainian language; now, profit undoubtedly joined such motives. High demand opened a broad market for such books. This, in turn, bore indirect witness to the spread of Ukrainian, if not for active, everyday use, then at least as a potential medium of communication, and probably also to the growth of its prestige.

Preparation of a dictionary requires more time than preparation of a grammar. Nevertheless, the years 1917 to 1919 saw an impressive upsurge in the publication of dictionaries. According to Červins'ka and Dykyj (434, 435, 440),[44] three Ukrainian-Russian dictionaries were published and, characteristically, fifteen Russian-Ukrainian ones (443, 444, 446, 448, 449, 452, 453, 454, 456, 459, 460, 466, 468, 469, 503), testimony that Russian

[44] In this paragraph, numbers in parentheses refer to corresponding items in Červins'ka and Dykyj.

speakers were switching, at least passively, to Ukrainian. A plethora of terminological dictionaries also appeared: 4 medical (473, 511, 578, 587); 4 in physics and chemistry (491, 527, 582, 599); 2 linguistic (502, 591); 3 in natural history and geography (511, 547, 593); 1 military (515); 4 technological (594–97); 1 mathematical (602); and no less than 8 dealing with legal and administrative terminology, a reflection of the rise, for the first time in two centuries, of a bureaucracy working in Ukrainian. It is highly typical of the period that the publication of Russian-Ukrainian dictionaries, followed by Ukrainian-Russian ones, was predominant, whereas no dictionaries of other languages, nor of Ukrainian alone, were published. The beginning of a switch from Russian to Ukrainian was clearly taking place. This was true not only for speakers of Russian in the countryside, but also for those who spoke Ukrainian daily but had become used to turning to Russian to express ideas beyond everyday conversation. The quality of the dictionaries published varied, but the general level was rather low. As a rule, they were quick responses to an urgent need, and their compilers often had no preparation in lexicography.

The lack of trained lexicographers was not the only reason for the shortcomings of most dictionaries published in 1917 to 1920, nor was it the haste with which the dictionaries were compiled. Another and no less important reason was the very situation in which the events of 1917 and the following years found the Ukrainian language. For many decades, and even centuries, left outside so many avenues of life, Ukrainian had very little time to make up for all its ensuing deficiencies. It was in need of both standardization and of (to some extent artificial) supplementation, a situation typical for all languages in transition from having only colloquial and literary use to fulfilling all the needs of a modern, national society. Vocabulary, phraseology, and terminology had to be regulated, and, often, newly introduced, be it from colloquial sources, from dialects, from historical sources, from other languages, or by invention.

There was little language planning in the years of the struggle for independence and, under the conditions of permanent turmoil, even fewer means of enforcing what had been planned. Nonetheless, some such steps were undertaken, for the first time in the history of Ukrainian under Russia. A commission on the regulation of orthography (*pravopysna komisija*) was appointed by the Ministry of Education. It consisted of three linguists—I. Ohijenko, A. Kryms'kyj, and Je. Tymčenko; on 24 May 1918, the Ministry approved their submitted *Najholovniši pravyla ukrajins'koho pravopysu.* These regulations were published in 1919 in Kiev (after an initial publication in *Vil'na ukrajins'ka škola*, 1918–19, no. 10). Although they covered only a few of the most disputed issues and comprised but eight pages, the

rules were nevertheless a first step toward centralized language planning.[45] Also some terminological dictionaries appeared, as recommended by other ministries, e.g., the Ministry of Transportation published a *Terminolohičnyj zbirnyk* (Kiev 1918). The degree to which such publications were binding is difficult to ascertain; my guess would be that it was rather low. The questions of how the terminology was elaborated and regularized and what sources were used to fill gaps was never systematically studied. Here, only a few observations and tentative generalizations, based on limited data, can be made.

The prevailing trend seems to have been romantic, which had two major manifestations: as historical romanticism, and as ethnographic romanticism. Historical romanticism leaned on the resuscitation of the terminology of the seventeenth-century Cossack state, and became prominent in such areas as state structure and military organization. In this tradition, the solemn announcements of the Central Rada were called *universaly*, the parliament was to be called *sojm*, the state chancellor *heneral'nyj pysar*, the term for "province," *gubernija*, was to be replaced by *zemlja*. Monetary units were *karbovanec'*, *hryvnja*, and *šah*. In the army, the officer ranks were *rojovyj*, *čotovyj*, *bunčužnyj*, *pivsotennyj*, *sotnyk*, *kurinnyj*, *polkovnyk*, *otaman* (of *brygada*, *korpus*, etc.). After the fall of the First Ukrainian National Republic, the very title *hetman* was based on these traditions. Some concessions were then made to more modern terminology: a *rada ministriv* was appointed, *zemli* became again *huberniji*, the *heneral'nyj sud* was replaced by the *deržavnyj senat*. But the guard of the Hetman was called *serdjuky*, and the military ranks were *hurtkovyj*, *rojovyj*, *čotovyj*, *bunčužnyj*, *xorunžyj*, *značkovyj*, *sotnyk*, *bulavnyj staršyna*, *osavul*,

[45] More precisely, the terminology should be Ukrainian-centered. In 1907, the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg made an attempt to regulate Ukrainian orthography. The immediate pretext was the forthcoming publication of B. Hrinčenko's dictionary. Chaired by F. Fortunatov, an outstanding Russian linguist, the Academy's so-called Little-Russian Commission, at its session of 6 January 1907, discussed a project by P. Stebnyc'kyj (a minor Ukrainian writer) and approved its proposals for Ukrainian orthography, subject, however, to further discussion. The commission basically accepted the then predominant spelling (including the letter r for the sound *g*), but with some alterations of a clearly Russianizing character, such as the abolition of the apostrophe and its replacement by the "soft sign," and the abolition of the spellings *jo* and *'o* and their replacement by the letter *ë*. Hrinčenko objected, referring to the impossible changes in alphabetical order that would ensue for his dictionary, which was ready to be printed. Many other Ukrainians joined in the protest and so did the press (*Rada* 33, dated 9 February 1907). Thus the recommendations of the Russian Academy were never, in practice, implemented. Stebnyc'kyj's paper and the decisions of the commission were published in *Izvestija Imperatorskoj akademii nauk*, ser. 6, 1907, no. 9, pp. 225–41. Dzendzelivs'kyj (70–79) published the reactions of Hrinčenko and P. Žytec'kyj (with censored omissions).

polkovnyk, *heneral'nyj xorunžyj*, *heneral'nyj bunčužnyj*, and *heneral'nyj oboznyj* (Hnatevyč 391, 428). The Second Ukrainian National Republic continued to use many of the terms of its republican predecessor, but the terms *dyrektorija*, *trudovyj kongres*, and *rada narodnyx ministriv* were impossible in the seventeenth-century Cossack state (whereas *holovnyj otaman*, the title of S. Petljura, had its roots there).

Relying on the Cossack state for administrative, legal, and military terminology also had a more recent tradition. It began, in fact, with the Galician paramilitary organization, *Ukrajins'ki sičovi stril'ci*, of 1913–1914, and its predecessors, the *Sič* societies existing from 1900. In these organizations the very name *Sič*, *sičovi* refers to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century traditions and had no reference to actual Galician life in the twentieth century. The tradition was brought to the former Russian Ukraine in late 1917 by Je. Konovalec' and his bridgade of *Sičovi stril'ci*. The underlying tendency in all these Cossack-based terminological innovations and resuscitations was toward nationalization of the entire nomenclature. The Turkic origin of a great many of the terms was irrelevant.

The historical-romantic principle could be applied only very limitedly or not at all to other branches of terminology. There ethnographic romanticism had a free field. Its leading idea was that the bulk of new terminology should be based on dialectal data. For notions unknown to villagers the collected data might have to be semantically reinterpreted or new words might have to be created from morphemes used in rural speech. This was more or less the position of O. Janata when, in 1917, he suggested that a comprehensive collection of terms known to the "people" (i.e., the peasantry) should be undertaken and, on the basis of these data, all terminological issues should be resolved.

Janata's view was opposed by M. Hruševs'kyj in the same newspaper, *Promin'*, where the idea had originally been expressed. He pointed to the urgency of creating Ukrainian terminology for child and adult schooling. In Hruševs'kyj's opinion, there was no time for Janata's terminological plan. Whatever terminology already existed had to be used. Practically, this meant a combination of popular terminology (as represented in various dictionaries, especially that of Hrinčenko), of Galician terminology, and of elements borrowed from the West European languages and Russian. Characteristically, Hruševs'kyj did not reject Janata's proposal on theoretical grounds. He would perhaps have adhered to it, too, were it not for the practical considerations of time.

On 11 April 1918, a Terminological Commission was appointed at the Kiev Scholarly Society. As if following Hruševs'kyj's advice, the commission listed among its most important sources "materials of the Lviv

Scientific Society, Galician school textbooks, works by I. Verxrats'kyj and other Galician scholars'' (Xolodnyj). The resulting terminology was eclectic, but no one denied that an ethnographic foundation was the most desirable and should be used whenever practically feasible.[46]

The application of the principles of historical and ethnographic romanticism was not, of course, uniquely Ukrainian. It emerged in nearly all standard languages at the time of their renascence and during the broadening of their functions and their inventory. This was true of Czech, Slovak, Serbian, Croatian, Lithuanian, Lettish, and many others. What varied was usually simply the proportions of their historical to ethnographic orientations.

The principles of ethnographic romanticism were broadly applied in language planning later, at the time of Ukrainianization; specific examples are given in the corresponding section below (see chap. 6).

The part played by Galicia in the years 1917–1920 was, in terms of the development of the literary language, insignificant or none, except for a more active dissemination of some older Galician features of the language, due to more lively contacts between Galicians and the population of the UNR/Hetmanate (such as through the so-called *Ukrajins'ka halyc'ka armija,* that is, the Ukrainian Galician Army). But in Galicia itself the development of the Ukrainian language was for the most part hampered, due above all to the conditions of war prevailing there. The independence of the West Ukrainian lands was proclaimed on 18 October 1918 and realized by armed coup d'état on 1 November 1918. But virtually immediately, a military conflict with the Poles ensued. Lviv was lost in three weeks. The Ukrainian-Polish war continued, absorbing all the energy of the populace and of the government, until mid-July 1919, when the government of the West Ukrainian National Republic had to leave the country, first for Kamjanec'-Podil's'kyj and later (November 1919) for Western Europe. During the eight months of its existence the West Ukrainian National Republic proclaimed and used Ukrainian as the official language, although it entitled the minorities to use their own languages in contacts with the administration. This new status of the Ukrainian language was deprived of major consequences, however, because of its short-lived nature, as well as limited territory of application and the continuous battle environment; also,

[46] The populist approach to language proved extremely tenacious in the Ukraine. As late as 1917, V. Samijlenko, a popular poet, advised that the best criterion for the evaluation of the language of a literary work would be ''to listen to how a Central Ukrainian peasant (*prostoljudyn*) speaks,'' even though he would admit words alien to an ''illiterate peasant'' (Samijlenko 367, 373).

in Galicia the Ukrainian language had already been prepared to serve such functions.

In Bukovina the independent Ukrainian administration (in union with Galicia) existed for but five days, from 6 to 11 November 1918, when the country was occupied by the Romanian army. In Bessarabia (Xotyn area), a strong anti-Romanian uprising rallied under Ukrainian national slogans flared in January 1919, but it was soon crushed (Dorošenko 1969, 420). In Transcarpathia several "people's councils," and their congress at Xust (21 January 1919), voted for union with the rest of the Western Ukraine, but that same month the land came under the occupation of Czecho-Slovakia, Romania, and Hungary. Of these occupants, the Central Ruthenian Council in Užhorod opted for Czecho-Slovakia (5 May 1919), a choice confirmed by the peace treaty of Saint-Germain (10 September 1919).

The irrelevance of the events of 1918–1919 in Galician Bukovina, and Transcarpathia for the development of the Ukrainian literary language is indirectly reflected in the fact that no grammars or dictionaries were published there during that time.[47]

Thus, in the years of the struggle for independence, it was the development of the Ukrainian language in the former Russian Ukraine that proved to be crucial for not only that part of the country, but for the entire Ukraine. There actual independence lasted the longest, the status of the Ukrainian language changed most radically, and the dynamics of its expansion were the most striking.[48] None of the language changes was completed at the

[47] The books by the Galician V. Simovyč are not an exception: they were published in Germany, and they were originally intended for prisoners of war from the Russian Ukraine, not for the Galician population.

[48] On 14 June 1917, *Robitnyča hazeta* published, as follows, a speech by S. Petljura at the Second All-Ukrainian Congress of soldiers: "Soldier-citizens, members of organizations, must always be on guard as to the achievements of the revolution and make themselves into (*vyxovaty z sebe*) real sons of their nation and speak exclusively Ukrainian as well as write letters to their homes exclusively in their mother tongue" (Petljura 2, 372). It is immaterial whether the naive combination of guarding the attainments of the revolution with speaking Ukrainian comes from Petljura or from the newspaper reporter. What is important is that the call was typical of the early months of the revolution.

To what extent was the attitude out-of-date by the end of the struggle for independence? Of interest in this context is that the Constitution of the Ukrainian National Republic adopted by the Central Rada on 29 April 1918, a day before Hetman Skoropads'kyj's coup (i.e., it was never enforced), did not claim that Ukrainian was the state language, nor did it treat the language problem at all (reprinted in Xrystjuk 2, 175). The same was true of all four *universaly* of the Central Rada (reprinted in full in Dorošenko 1, 89, 115, 179, 264). The spreading use—or at least knowledge—of Ukrainian at the time of the Ukrainian National Republic and of the Hetmanate is an indisputable fact. What the quality of that language was is another question. Very often it was a peculiar mixture of Ukrainian and Russian, with many hybrids unique to that particular time; some of those that cropped up in oral speech and in correspondence are quoted in Solovej 112f. Newspapers of the time have not been studied from that point of view;

time the independent Ukraine fell. All were brought to a standstill by the Sovietization of the country accomplished primarily through the invasion of the Russian Red Army. Nevertheless, they could not be immediately extinguished, and to a great extent they determined the zig-zags in the ensuing Soviet language policy within the Ukrainian S.S.R., as well as the vicissitudes of the Ukrainian language in the parts of the Ukraine occupied by Poland, Romania, and Czecho-Slovakia.

V. THE SOVIET UKRAINE BEFORE THE UKRAINIANIZATION

Three stages in the Soviet-Russian occupation of the Ukraine are dealt with here; the first occupation, lasting from January to March/April 1918; the second occupation, lasting from January to August 1919; and the third occupation, which began in December 1919 (in some parts of southern Ukraine, from February 1920), and lasted until the initiation of the policy of Ukrainianization, which was formally introduced by the Council of People's Commissars on 23 July 1923 (in practice from April 1925). Thus, this chapter deals with the years 1918–1924, excepting the brief periods when the Soviets were forced out of the Ukraine. The three Soviet Russian occupations of the Ukraine can be examined together because during all three the policy toward the Ukrainian language and its status were basically identical.

The prevailing Russian character of the occupational forces is clearly evident in Lenin's telegram to Stalin sent 22 February 1920, if it needs any corroboration: "It is imperative without any delay to engage interpreters in all headquarters and military organs of the military forces in the Ukraine, and to oblige unconditionally all their officers to accept applications and other documents in the Ukrainian language. This is unreservedly necessary—all concessions should be made in what concerns the language and in the maximum equality of languages" (Lenin 51, 141f.). Ukrainian

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they would certainly supply a rich harvest of linguistic misnomers.

A characteristic example in print is the pamphlet of S. Mazlax and V. Šaxraj entitled *Do xvyli* (Saratov, 1918). Ardent defenders of Ukrainian rights and talented journalists, the authors wrote in a language full of Russianisms and of pseudo-Ukrainian words which are actually distorted Russian ones (e.g., *naslidok* 'consequence' with the meaning 'patrimony' as influenced by Russian *nasledstvo*; *osobystyj* 'personal' with the meaning 'particular' under the influence of Russian *osobennyj*, etc.—Mazlax 7).

It is obvious that while the spread of Ukrainian to all avenues of life enhanced its prestige, the actual inadequacies of the language and its distortion by unprepared and unqualified users undermined that prestige. The latter was reflected in the appearance of some hostile and derisive "Ukrainian jokes." Some of these are recorded in Solovej 112.

forces, of course, would not have needed interpreters. Two other principles of Communist policy, which would apply in the years to come, are implicitly formulated here: (1) concessions should be made regarding language, but not other matters; (2) not the domination of the Ukrainian language, but rather its admittance alongside Russian should be fostered (in other words, Russian was one of the two accepted languages of the Ukraine).

All three Russian occupations were accompanied by severe mass terror, often preventive, led by the military and by the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission (Če-Ka, 12 December 1917–6 February 1922). Numerous Ukrainian activists were killed in those years (including H. Čuprynka, a popular poet), often even those who were not engaged in any action against the Soviet regime (see, e.g., Majstrenko 41; Mazepa 1, 42; Vynnyčenko 2, 271 and 3, 311). However, specifically anti-Ukrainian actions as such more often than not resulted from the personal, hostile attitude of one or another commissar towards things Ukrainian rather than from actions by the Če-Ka. Acts of terror were directed against anyone suspected of opposing the Soviet regime and against everyone who belonged to the previously privileged classes. True, everywhere in the Ukraine power was not in the hands of local soviets (contrary to the name of the system), which did not exist in towns or villages and which were powerless in big cities, but in the hands of appointed ad hoc revolutionary committees and plenipotentiary commissars who could act arbitrarily. Zatons'kyj wrote in 1918: ''Every [party] organization, almost every party member, resolved his own questions concerning tactics vis-à-vis the Ukrainian national movement, which grew incessantly and was becoming a more and more important factor of political strength in the Ukraine'' (quoted from Levyns'kyj 13). M. Skrypnyk, in 1920, mentioned that the number of individual injunctions against the use of Ukrainian known to him had reached two hundred (Skrypnyk 17).

No one punished such individuals for their irresponsibility, which violated the general principles formulated (as late as 1919!) by Lenin. As Zatons'kyj admitted in 1926, the Soviet Ukraine was built ''in spite of the suspicious attitude of the significant majority (one must state the truth) of the working class and, at the beginning, even of part of the peasantry'' (*Budivnyctvo* 11). In addition, virtually all Ukrainian institutions were dissolved and dispersed, including the numerous Prosvita chapters (1922), private publishing houses, and cooperative organizations. However, *Nova rada* continued to be published during the first Soviet occupation of Kiev (the right-wing Russian *Kievljanin* and *Kievskaja mysl'* were closed; Dorošenko 1969, 230). One interesting detail mentioned by D. Dorošenko is that the letterheads of various soviets were printed in Ukrainian and in

Russian, and the parties concerned in any case were given a choice between the two (1929, 228). The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was spared dissolution, but it was reduced to a starvation budget (990 rubles in 1921, at the beginning of the third Soviet occupation; *Zvidomlennja* 1921, 63) and its access to printing facilities was restricted. Such a situation could not but create an atmosphere of fear, including fear to use Ukrainian in public.

The legislation of the Soviet regime, beginning with the second occupation (there was no time for legislation during the brief first occupation) had a different spirit. It contained no prohibition aimed at the Ukrainian language. The Constitution "of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic," adopted by the All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets on 3 March 1919 and sanctioned by the Central Executive Committee on 19 March 1919, said nothing about Ukrainian or any other language. It only stated the inadmissibility of any national privileges or of national suppression, while, on the other hand, proclaiming the desire to dissolve the Ukraine itself "in one international Socialist Soviet Republic as soon as conditions have developed for its rise" (*Politika* 116, 113). This implied toleration of the Ukrainian language, but nothing more. (The coat-of-arms adopted for the state, for instance, had text in Russian and Ukrainian.)

At the end of the same year (December 21) the following general appeal, signed by H. Petrovs'kyj, V. Zatons'kyj, and D. Manujil's'kyj, was published: "In the labor school of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Ukrainian language will become a powerful and active means for liberation of the Ukrainian working people from [intellectual] darkness and ignorance" (*Politika* 118). It implied recognition of (elementary?) education in Ukrainian, but, of course, like every popular appeal, this one had no binding force.

Beginning in the spring of 1919, several decrees favoring the use of the Ukrainian language were issued. The most important of these stipulated the following: the Ukrainian language, as well as the history and geography of the Ukraine, must be taught in schools (9 March 1919, Third Congress of Soviets); Ukrainian must be admitted alongside Russian in all government institutions and offices (21 February 1920, All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee, and 2 May 1920, Fourth Congress of Soviets); Ukrainian subjects must be taught at teachers' seminaries and courses (4 May 1920, People's Commissariat of Education: "not in the old, predominantly philological direction, but so as to become the source of a living understanding of the cultural and socioeconomic [*kul'turno-pobutovoho*] situation of the present-day Ukraine": *Zbirnyk*, 2–12 May 1920, no. 9, p. 220); the Ukrainian language as a subject must be introduced in schools and should be used in government institutions and offices (21 September 1920, Council

of People's Commissars [CPC]); teaching in Ukrainian is recommended for schools, as is the use of Ukrainian in filmmaking; courses in the Ukrainian language should be organized for government officials (19 February 1921, CPC). On 3 March 1921 the Fifth Congress of Soviets approved the work of the People's Commissariat of Education (PCE) "aimed at the elimination of national animosity and at the development of the Ukrainian language as the language of the majority of the toiling masses of the Ukraine." In 1922, the preceding measures were codified in a single *Kodeks zakoniv pro narodnju osvitu v URSR*, which stated (§ 25): "The Ukrainian language as the language of the majority of the population of the Ukraine, especially in villages, and Russian, as the language of the majority in cities and as the All-Union language, have in the Ukrainian S.S.R. national (*obščegosudarstvennoe*) significance and must be taught in all educational (*učebno-vospitatel'nyx*) institutions of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic" (Durdenevskij 155). The Criminal Procedures Code of 13 September 1922 spoke, in paragraph 22, of legal proceedings "in one of the two state languages, Ukrainian or Russian" (Durdenevskij 78). On 27 July 1923, the CPC issued a new decree, "On measures for the Ukrainianization of schools and educational and cultural institutions"; on 1 August 1923, the AUCEC and CPC issued a joint resolution, "On measures of safeguarding the equality of languages and on assistance to the development of the Ukrainian language" (*Sobranie uzakonenij* 1919, 3, p. 347ff.; 1920, 4, p. 5; 1920, 24, p. 713; *Zbirnyk uzakonen'* 1920, 9, p. 220; 1923, 29, p. 896ff.; 1923, 29, p. 913ff.).

Party decisions about these matters were also not lacking, in either Kharkiv or Moscow. They included the following: the resolution of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (RCP) and of its Eighth Conference, "On Soviet power in the Ukraine," dated 3 December 1919; the resolution of the Tenth Congress of the RCP, "On current tasks of the party in national policy," dated 15 March 1921; the resolution of the First All-Ukrainian Conference of the Communist Party of the Ukraine (CPU) on the national problem, of 2–4 May 1921; the resolutions of the plenary session of the Central Committee of the CPU dated 6 February 1922 and 17 October 1922; of the Seventh All-Ukrainian Conference of the CPU, dated 9 April 1923; of the Twelfth Congress of the RCP, dated 25 April 1923, preceded by L. Trockij programmatic *Zadači 12 s''ezda RKP (b)* (Moscow, 1923), which emphasized the explosive power of nationalism while admitting the failure of the Communist Party to unite nations by stimulating the development of their cultures (quoted extensively in Sadovs'kyj 45); the resolution of the plenary session of the Central Committee of the CPU, dated 22 June 1923, on the Ukrainianization of the internal party education

and propaganda (*Kul'turne budivnyctvo* 229ff.). At that plenary session (as well as before it) the Ukrainian party minority (headed by Šums'kyj?) strived to secure implementation of the policy of Ukrainianization in everyday life; in particular, they proposed that Ukrainian, alongside Russian, be proclaimed the official language of the Soviet Ukraine. The proposal won a majority at the preliminary session, over the protest of H. Petrovs'kyj and M. Frunze, but it was defeated at the full plenary session. The term "official language" was replaced by "two generally used languages" (Babij 283).

The very number of such decrees and resolutions, calling for nearly identical measures, shows that the situation did not undergo any essential changes and that the published laws and ordinances were not consistently enforced. The resistance against or hostility toward Ukrainian resulted from the recent wars with the Ukrainian governments, the attitude of Russians and Russianized groups in the population, and, most important—in fact, decisive—the situation in the CPU itself, which controlled the machinery of dictatorship. In its political orientation, cultural ties, and even individual makeup, the CPU was essentially a Russian party based in the Ukraine. According to official statistics, even later, by 1923, only 23.3 percent of its party members were Ukrainian (Borys 89); in 1918 the percentage was just 3.2 (*Vsesojuznaja kommunističeskaja partija (bol'ševikov). Social'nyj i nacional'nyj sostav VKP [b]. Itogi vsesojuznoj partijnoj perepisi 1927 g.* [Moscow, 1928], p. 158). As one of the party's leaders, V. Zatons'kyj, had bluntly stated a few years earlier, "here [in the Ukraine] the Bolshevik Party, as well as the majority of the industrial proletariat, consists chiefly of Russians (Great Russians), if not by nationality, then by culture" (*Kommunist* 1918, 3–4; quoted from Levyns'kyj 14). No wonder, then, that neither the leaders nor most party members wanted Ukrainianization. Many went even farther. As Je. Boš' put it: "The worker and the peasant of the Ukraine demand and strive for the indivisible (*edinaja*) Soviet Russia" (her *Nacional'noe pravitel'stvo i sovetskaja vlast' na Ukraine* [Moscow, 1918]; quoted from Levyns'kyj).[49]

The most outstanding personality in the Ukrainian and pro-Ukrainian faction (or factions) in the party was Mykola Skrypnyk. Consistently an advocate of Ukrainianization, he found himself in an absolute minority, in

[49] The general situation is reflected in language selected for official government publications. Begun entirely in Russian as *Sobranie uzakonenij*. . ., this series became bilingual, with parallel Ukrainian and Russian texts, with no. 4 (21–25 March 1920), entitled *Zbirnyk uzakonen'*. . .; but it relapsed into Russian with no. 22 (1–10 August 1920), later to become bilingual again, and then, still later, exclusively Ukrainian. For some peculiarities in the laws of 1919–1924, see chap. 7 (in part 2), where these decrees are compared with those of 1925.

fact, often in opposition to the majority. Characteristically, he was not elected to the Central Committee of the CPU at the First, the Second or the Third Party Congress, nor to the Politbureau at the Fourth, the Fifth, or the Sixth congresses. Skrypnyk became a full-fledged member of the Politbureau only at the Ninth Congress, in December 1925, in spite of the fact that he was a leading founder of the party. Another Ukrainian member of the CPU, Ju. Lapčyns'kyj, actually formed an oppositional group (federalists), whereas V. Šaxraj was on the road to that step in 1919–1920. V. Zatons'kyj, on the contrary, was quite docile on the national question (which did not preclude his execution later, in 1937).

The situation began to undergo slight change when the CPU absorbed the left elements of the Ukrainian Social-Democrats (Je. Neronovyč's group, ca. 40 persons) in 1918, the Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionaries, or so-called *Borot'bisty* (Borot'bists), in 1920 (possibly up to 4,000 persons, of whom by 1923 only 119 are said to have remained: Majstrenko 45, 67, 72ff.), and some members of the Ukrainian Communist Party in 1925. Some legislative initiatives by the Soviet Ukrainian government in 1920–1921 might have been brought about by the former Borot'bists. From 1920 H. Hryn'ko, a former Borot'bist, led the People's Commissariat of Education; he was removed, in 1923, for what was labeled "excessive [though actually very moderate] Ukrainianization." Hryn'ko was replaced by Zatons'kyj, but in 1925, when vigorous Ukrainianization began, this position was again entrusted to a former Borot'bist, O. Šums'kyj.

The zigzags in the language policy of the Soviet Ukrainian government, as well as the discrepancies between legislation and practice in those years, were partially due to the hidden but abiding conflict between the active Ukrainian minority and the pro-Russian majority in the central organs of the party and the government. The official historian of the CP(b)U, M. Popov (265), characterizes the years 1921–1923 as a time of slowdown in the Ukrainianization that had been pursued more vigorously in 1920. The slowdown may have been connected with the appointment of Hryn'ko in 1920 and the subsequent hampering of his activity by Russophile elements. In November of 1920, at the Fifth Conference of the CPU, the emissary of the Central Committee of the RCP(b), G. Zinov'ev, downgraded the policy of Ukrainianization as follows: "What is the essence of the national policy in the Ukraine? . . . We must act so that no one can say that we want to be in the way of Ukrainian muzhiks who want to speak Ukrainian. . . . In some years [to come] that language will win that has more roots, that is more vital, more cultured. Thus, our policy consists in showing, in deeds, not in words, sincerely and honestly, that the Soviet power does not stand in his [the Ukrainian muzhik's] way of speaking and of teaching his children in

the language he prefers'' (quoted from Popov 236). Here Zinov'ev reduced the Ukrainian language to the idiom of villagers, and the party's policy toward it to not hindering the language in that capacity. A poignant fact is that no one attending the conference objected to the statement (Popov 277).

X. Rakovs'kyj, chairman of the CPC of the Soviet Ukraine in 1919–1923 (he himself was Bulgarian) passed over the problem of the Ukrainian language in silence in his declaration on the policy of the Soviet government made in Kharkiv and in Kiev (January and February 1919). Asked a question on the envisaged status of the Ukrainian language, he responded: ''In answering the demand to declare [Ukrainian] the official language of the Ukraine, I do declare in full responsibility. . . on behalf of the workers' and peasants' temporary government of the Ukraine: this would be dangerous to the Ukrainian revolution'' (quoted after Popov 182).[50] Rakovs'kyj referred to the great number of Russians in the Ukraine; the Russian-speaking population in Kiev, Odessa, and the centers of the working class, as well as to the alleged mutual understandability of Russian and Ukrainian.

Rakovs'kyj defended his stand on the Ukrainian language also in the article ''A hopeless affair'' (*Izvestija*, 3 January 1919), the title of which, however, referred not to the promotion of the Ukrainian language, but to the military campaign of the Directory. In the article Rakovs'kyj wrote: ''Of course we do not intend to deny either the Ukrainian language or a certain [degree of] national consciousness [on the part of Ukrainian peasants], but this is so far a potential force whose development the Soviet form of power will not only not impede but, on the contrary, will create conditions for a complete flourishing'' (excerpts from both the speech and the article can be found in Xrystjuk 4, 173, and in Mazlax 196ff., but the selection is somewhat biased). Hence, the principle underlying Rakovs'kyj's language policy was the legal equality of the Ukrainian and Russian languages.

In the years to come Rakovs'kyj, without betraying his earlier views, even made a kind of defense of the Ukrainian language. In a speech at the Twelfth Congress of the RCP(b), in April 1923, he said: ''Sometimes I have heard comrades call the Ukrainian language an invention of Galicians. Has not, after all, the great-power attitude of a Russian man crept into this, [the attitude of a man] who has never experienced national oppression but, quite the reverse, has oppressed other nations throughout [several] centuries?'' (*Dvenadcatyj s''ezd* 579). There is no real contradiction between Rakovs'kyj's utterances of 1919 and 1923. As in 1919 he did not deny the

[50] A group of former Social-Democrats [independents] did demand that Ukrainian be declared the official language (Borys 260).

existence of the Ukrainian language—writing in "A hopeless affair" that "Danger of Russification under Soviet power is entirely unthinkable. Insofar as the Ukrainian peasants and the Ukrainian workers need schooling and the administration to be in Ukrainian, this will be secured by Soviet power much better than it would be by Ukrainian intellectuals from among the newly-made officials... who see in Ukrainian independence... conditions for their own bureaucratic supremacy"—so in 1923 Rakovs'kyj did not opt for proclaiming it the official language or for fostering it at the expense of Russian. Yet he clearly learned from his experience with Ukrainian-Russian relationships in the CPU and CPC.

The Russian-Ukrainian friction within and without the CPU bearing on the status of the Ukrainian language was reflected in the uncertainties of the legal status of the Soviet Ukraine. At the time of the Second Soviet occupation, it was legally an independent state (Borys 297). So the Ukraine was called by Lenin ("The RCP[b] holds the view of recognition of the independence of the Ukraine"—Lenin 39, 334). His view was adopted in the resolution of the Central Committee, and it was restated in Lenin's "Letter to Workers and Peasants of the Ukraine on the Occasion of the Victory over Denikin": "The independence of the Ukraine has been recognized by both the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the RSFSR and the RCP" (Lenin 40, 42). The same view is reflected in the leaflet Trockij addressed to Ukrainians at the time of the Soviet invasion (Vynnyčenko 3, 494; Mazepa 2, 168). On 12 December 1920, the legally independent Soviet Ukrainian state entered a union with Soviet Russia whereby it relinquished its sovereignty in the spheres of the military, finances, labor, communication, and the economy, but preserved separate citizenship and foreign diplomatic contacts (Borys 301ff.). At the same time (from December 1917), however, it was accepted that all decrees issued by the CPC of Soviet Russia were also valid in the Ukraine. On 2 May 1918 the Commissar of Nationality Affairs ordered in Moscow that an office for Ukrainian affairs be established and headed by a certain Je. Petrenko (*Politika* 109). In mid-1919 the All-Russian Executive Committee published a decree "on the amalgamation (*ob''edinenie*) of the Soviet Republics—Russia, Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, and Belorussia—for the struggle with world imperialism" (*Politika* 11), leaving it unclear whether a political union or a military alliance was meant. When the Russian army occupied the Ukraine, as early as 16 December 1917, the commander-in-chief of the Russian Soviet army, N. Krylenko, ordered that the Ukrainianization of military units be stopped [*Politika* 108]). The ruling party was part of the Russian party, and the Russian government dispatched many commissars who held all power in their hands, according to some estimates

up to 1,000 (Borys 255), and according to others up to 3,000 (Majstrenko 61). The same applied to the First Secretaries of the Central Committee of the CPU after G. Pjatakov, who were, in sequence, F. Sergeev (party name Artem), E. Kviring, S. Kosior, V. Molotov, and D. Manujil's'kyj, the sole Ukrainian among them.

The decrees issued and actions taken had created a complete legal mess, as expressed by Zatons'kyj in March 1921: "I personally do not know in what relation we are at present with the RSFSR, we who live in the Ukraine. I personally cannot make it out. So what can be said of the broad masses!" (*Desjatyj s''ezd* 205). In May 1921, the resolution of the First All-Ukrainian debate (*narada*) of the Central Committee of the CPU came up with the statement: "In the history of Soviet Ukrainian statehood there were moments [*sic*!] of complete independence (*nezaležnosty j samostijnosty*) of the UkrSSR. . ., moments of federative connection. . ., of political independence on the basis of military and economic amalgamation with the RSFSR. . . . State relations between the two sister republics are still in the process of being shaped and have not acquired certain stable forms" (*Rezoljuciji* 125). It should be added that at the time of federation, no formalities about rights guaranteed to the participants were set down (as correctly observed by Vynnyčenko 3, 306). The confusion was legally disentangled only in the period December 1922 to June 1923, when the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was founded and its constitution approved. The Ukraine became an integral part of the union, losing the right to separate citizenship, the right to diplomatic relations with other countries, and many other rights. Even then, as late as April 1923, Rakovs'kyj stated: "There is no step a national republic can take about which one can say from the outset that it was entitled to take it" (*Dvenadcatyj s''ezd* 582). Under such legal conditions it was, theoretically, equally possible to foster the Ukrainian language and to suppress it.

The actual state of the Ukrainian language during the years 1918–1924, under Soviet domination, shows some ups and downs and an interplay of give and take. On the one hand, Ukrainian was never outlawed by the central government; on the other hand, the same government, and especially the party, found many of its manifestations undesirable. It is impossible to evaluate statistically the use of the language, orally and in writing, in the Soviet administration. One must rely on the impressions and evaluations of contemporaries. These are nearly unanimous, regardless of whether expressed by adversaries or functionaries of the system. The three utterances selected for inclusion here are representative. Vynnyčenko said (3, 309): "In actual fact, all clerical work is done in Russian, all the officials (*urjad*) speak in Russian, whereas the Ukrainian language is made fun of

and is called the 'dog's language' " (Vynnyčenko is referring to the situation in 1919). Hryn'ko said in 1923: "The state machinery from top to bottom works in the Russian language, with quite small exceptions in the staff of the People's Commissariat of Education in the provinces and some others. Our cooperative organization functions in Russian in at least 60 to 70 percent [of cases]" (Popov 270). No less a person than E. Kviring, First Secretary of the Central Committee and for many years a staunch opponent of the Ukrainianization, summed up the situation thus: "We must say that our government (*vlada*) is still excessively (*nadto*) non-national, still strikingly non-Ukrainian, and that in this we certainly have not gone too far" (Popov 272).

Newspapers published in the Ukrainian SSR were as follows, according to *Knyžkova palata*:

Year	In Ukrainian	In Russian
1918	60	227
1919	127	228
1920	87	266[51]
1921	45	95
1922	30	102[52]
1923	28	86
1924	36	95

Circulation (*tyraž*) in thousands of copies was as follows:

Year	In Ukrainian	In Russian
1918	not given	not given
1919	not given	not given
1920	35	147
1921	99	199
1922	83	353
1923	80	492
1924	176	752

(*Presa* 174).

The ratio of Ukrainian to Russian newspapers was highest in 1919 (when newspapers published under non-Soviet regimes were probably also included, although this is not stated explicitly). It is the only year for which Ukrainian titles number more than one-half of the Russian ones; in other years, they number roughly one-third, and in some cases, especially in

[51] Completely different data are given in EU 1, 591: 73 and 151.
[52] Completely different data are given in Žyvotko 158, with reference to Ihnatijenko, 173 and 222.

circulation, fall as low as one-fifth.[53] If one considers that Russian newspapers were regularly imported from Russia, for which no statistical data are available, the low number of Ukrainian newspapers becomes even more striking. It must also be mentioned that some Ukrainian newspapers were published by the Borot'bists and the UCP, who put out papers in Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, and Kamjanec'-Podil's'kyj, as well as in Kiev. (All "bourgeois" newspapers were closed at the very beginning of the Soviet regime.) The organ of the Communist government, the Russian-language *Izvestija*, became the Ukrainian-language *Visti* from 1921, but the organ of the Central Committee, *Kommunist*, remained Russian throughout the period (it occasionally included articles in Ukrainian). Chronologically, the first periodical publication of the Communist party in the Ukraine was the organ of the Kiev Provincial Party Committee, *Bil'šovyk*, published from March 1919. Several Ukrainian newspapers for peasants started to appear in 1921, but most of them did not survive into 1923 (Popov 267).

The number of Ukrainian newspapers being published was low, but if one recalls (following Majstrenko 36) that, in 1917, the CPU published nothing in Ukrainian (the *Vistnyk Ukrajins'koji narodnoji respubliky*, published in Kharkiv from 19 December 1917, had a Ukrainian title, but nearly all the contents were in Russian: Žyvotko 159), clearly progress was being made. Communist periodicals in Ukrainian and in Russian numbered as follows, according to Ihnatijenko (1926, 73):

Year	In Ukrainian	In Russian
1917	—	4
1918	1	6
1919	21	30
1920	63	120
1921	75 (?)	169 (?)
1922	43 (?)	146 (?)

According to data from *Litopys ukrajins'koho druku* (1924, 2), these numbers would be 62 and 160, respectively, for 1923. The publication of Ukrainian newspapers in the Soviet Ukraine (although some data are uncertain, as marked with question marks above) fairly adequately reflects the

53 For all periodicals, including newspapers, Ihnatijenko 1926, 70, gives the following table:

Year	Total Ukrainian	In the Russian Ukraine	In the Austrian Ukraine	Russian periodicals in the Ukraine
1917	172	106	21	751
1918	252	218	15	321
1919	243	173	49	222
1920	139	79	36	151
1921	181	77	55	188
1922	168	43	68	287

official Soviet attitude toward the Ukrainian language: limited toleration, but no promotion.

A similar situation obtained for journals. In the early years of the Soviet regime, non-periodical almanacs prevailed: *Červonyj vinok*, 1919; *Grono* and *Zšytky borot'by*, 1920; *Štabel'* and *Vyr revoljuciji*, 1921; *Žovten'*, 1922; *Šturm*, 1923; *Kvartaly*, *Pluh* and *Žovtnevyj zbirnyk*, 1924 (compiled after Lejtes 1, xiii f.). Periodicals begun in 1919–1922 rarely survived into the following year, although not necessarily due to political reasons; the exceptions, according to Lejtes (1, xiv ff.) were only four: the literary *Šljaxy mystectva*, the pedagogical *Šljax osvity*, the youth-oriented *Student revoljuciji*, and the professional journal *Sil's'kohospodars'kyj proletar*. In 1923 some more solid periodicals appeared: the literary-political monthly *Červonyj šljax*, the illustrated biweeklies *Hlobus* and *Nova hromada*, and the popular scientific biweekly *Znannja*. So, the number and the circulation of journals published were extremely low, but no complete halt in publication occurred, and, from 1921, some growth, albeit slow, is evident.

The status of the Ukrainian language in the Soviet Ukraine in those years is reflected in that compilers of almanacs and editors of journals seemed to be embarrassed to be publishing in Ukrainian. They tried to justify themselves or to publish a combination of writings in several languages: most consistently, M. Semenko in *Semafor u majbutnje* published materials in Ukrainian, Russian, English, French, and German (reprinted in Lejtes 2, 107ff.); also, Semenko, together with M. Xvyl'ovyj and others, took part in joint Ukrainian-Russian enterprises (Lejtes 2, 67). The almanac *Žovten'* was introduced in 1921 by a declaration which, among other things, stated: "We here in the Ukraine feel ourselves to be but a part of the universe-wide workers' soul surpassing the frontiers of states and nations. We take the Ukrainian language to be a certain rich material left to us as a patrimony by generations [who lived] thousands of years, our forefathers, the Ukrainian peasantry" (signed by Xvyl'ovyj, V. Sosjura, M. Johansen; reprinted in Lejtes 2, 66). The literary organization Hart proclaimed: "The Union [of writers] wants to unite proletarian writers of the Ukraine who aspire to create the universal international communist culture while using the Ukrainian language as the vehicle of their work," and continued: "This is to emphasize the urgency (*udarnist'*) of work in that language which is spoken by tens of thousands of peasants who should be subordinated ideologically to the influence of the proletariat" (signed by V. Blakytnyj; reprinted in Lejtes 2, 95). Finally, *Červonyj šljax* was introduced by the statement: "The Ukrainian language itself is a major factor in the process of the creation of a new life, and it requires continual perfection and broadening to meet the requirements posed by the cultural rise of the toiling

masses. *Červonyj šljax* must carefully approach this task and mobilize literary and scholarly forces for the work of molding the Ukrainian language into a powerful tool for the cultural development of the toiling masses'' (reprinted in Lejtes 2, 98). In such declarations, a guilt for writing in Ukrainian seems to combine whimsically with a peculiar stubbornness and pride in the undertaking.

For book publication, at least for belles lettres, a table showing the number of titles in Ukrainian vs. Russian literature can be used. In 1918 to 1924, the publication of translations of literary works from Ukrainian into Russian and (to a lesser extent) from Russian into Ukrainian was atypical, so that the numbers below should correspond, roughly, with titles published in each language (a correction should be made for works translated from other languages):

Year	Ukrainian Literature	Russian Literature
1918	304	52
1919	149	98
1920	106	61
1921	62	72
1922	71	128
1923	48	73
1924	153	82

(*Presa* 94ff.).

The low number of books in Russian literature published in 1918–1919 is probably explained by the inclusion of non-Soviet publications. The general decline of 1921 to 1923 was caused by economic ruin and by the liquidation of private publishing houses (which would be reversed in part with the introduction of the ''New Economic Policy,'' in 1921). The most striking feature is the overtaking of first place by Russian book publications in 1921–1923, which undoubtedly reflects the status of the Ukrainian language and culture at the time and the insufficiency of government efforts to protect it. Also, Soviet-Ukrainian publications, especially in 1920–1922, included a large number of small pamphlets aimed against things Ukrainian, such as the 1920 *Pravda pro petljurivs'ki brexni, Pro Petljuru, pans'ku škuru*, etc. (Siropolko 181).

The same conclusion can be drawn from the table below, which gauges book production as a whole:

Year	In Ukrainian	In Russian	Percent in Ukrainian
1918	1,084	386	64.4
1919	665	726	47.0
1920	457	369	53.1
1921	214	448	32.0
1922	385	927	29.3
1923/4	855	1,848	31.0
1924/5	1,813	2,535	40.2

(Siropolko, 184, who compiled his data from *Knyhar* 1923, 2; *Radjans'kyj knyhar* 1932, 31; and Ju. Meženko's *Ukrajins'ka knyžka časiv velykoji revoljuciji* [Kiev, 1928]).

In education, instruction in Ukrainian survived best in elementary schools through the time when official policy maintained the equality of the Ukrainian and Russian languages. (Statistical data for every year are not available to me.) According to Popov (266), in 1920 "many rural elementary schools switched to instruction in Ukrainian" (in fact, the schools were allowed to continue teaching in Ukrainian, as they had before the Sovietization). Siropolko (201) quotes from the report of the People's Commission of Education to the Sixth Congress of Soviets (December 1921; not available to me) that in 1921, 63 percent of schools were conducted in Ukrainian in the Ukraine as a whole, 80 percent in the Podolia, Kiev, and Poltava regions, and ca. 20 percent in the Kharkiv and Donec' regions; in the large cities, however, the percentage was much lower—in Kiev, 25 percent, Katerynoslav, 20 percent. By 1923, according to Zatons'kyj, 95 percent of rural elementary schools in the Kiev and Poltava regions were Ukrainian (quoted after Popov 268); but Popov also states (168) that in the Donec' region there were no Ukrainian schools at all (were they liquidated in 1922?). Rakovs'kyj, in 1923, stated that the number of Ukrainian elementary schools corresponded to the percentage of Ukrainians in the population, except for the Donec' and Kharkiv provinces (Popov 270).

Urban schools at that time, however, were almost entirely Russian. As late as June 1923, Skrypnyk reported that the Ukrainian language was not taught even as a subject in those schools. He also stated that "in the majority of higher schools instruction is conducted in Russian; the percentage of elementary and high schools where instruction is given in Russian is much higher than the percentage of Russians in the population" (Skrypnyk 37, 50). It may be assumed that factory vocational schools (*fabzavuč*) were entirely Russian. This also was the situation in the army and in military training, despite the demands of Skrypnyk (1924, 39ff.); a striking exception was the founding of two Ukrainian schools for army officers, one in

Kharkiv (as early as 1920; Majstrenko 224), and the other, much later, in Kiev (1927?; Popov 267).[54]

The language situation in education made the contrast between the countryside and urban centers sharper than ever and further diminished the prestige of the Ukrainian language, suggesting that it was the language of a lower, backward culture and that studying it had few prospects. That attitude found expression in such pronouncements as that by Dm. Lebed', Second Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPU from 1921 to 1923: "We know theoretically that the conflict of the two cultures [Ukrainian and Russian] is inevitable. In our case, in the Ukraine, due to historical circumstances the urban culture is Russian, the culture of the countryside is Ukrainian"; from this he drew the conclusion that the Russian and not the Ukrainian language and culture should be supported (*Kommunist*, 4 April 1923; quoted from Popov 269). Lebed's views met with criticism from members of the central organs of the party, yet they accurately reflected the split between the cities and the countryside that had resulted from actual policy.

The real situation of the Ukrainian language, and the real attitude toward it, are best reflected in the data on the publication of Ukrainian grammar textbooks. In 1920–1921 none was published; in 1922, 1; in 1923, 7; in 1924, 5; altogether 13 in five years, as compared with 59 published during the three years of the struggle for independence, 1917–1919 (figures are derived from the data of Červins'ka and Dykyj). Another telling fact is that of the 13 items, 8 were designed for elementary schools and only 5 for higher schools or self-education.

Identical conclusions follow from an analysis of the publication of dictionaries (again tallied from the bibliographical lists of Červins'ka and Dykyj). No dictionaries were published in 1920; 2 in 1921; 1 in 1922; 5 in 1923; and 7 in 1924; totaling 15 in five years, as compared to 45 in 1917–1919. Of the fifteen dictionaries published, 2 were general Ukrainian-Russian (439, 442),[55] 3 were general Russian-Ukrainian (461, 462), and the remaining 10 were terminological: 2 medical (474, 578), 3 legal and administrative (478, 501, 561; in 1917–1919, 8 such dictionaries appeared); 1 chemical (532); 1 mathematical (577); 1 technological (584; on the sugarbeet industry; it was perhaps designed for rural readers); 1 anatomical (603); and 1 geological (601).

[54] Cf. the list of military schools as of 1926 in *Kievskij krasnoznamennyj: Istorija krasnoznamennogo kievskogo voennogo okruga 1919–1972* (Moscow, 1974), p. 79.

[55] Numbers in parentheses refer to positions in Červins'ka and Dykyj.

Not much was done about the regulation of orthography. The brief "rules" prepared at the time of the Hetmanate (1919) were revised slightly by the Academy of Sciences[56] and sanctioned by Hryn'ko as Commissar of Education. Numbering sixteen small pages, the booklet was printed twice in 1921. An interesting detail is that the Academy accepted the rules set forth in the 1921 edition at three sessions, on 17 May and 12 July 1919, and on 29 February 1920. Apparently there was some discussion and probably some changes were suggested, but nothing is known about them; we do know that the chairman of the commission was H. Holoskevyč. The rules were published in 40,000 copies, which sold out that same year (*Zvidomlennja za 1921*, 19; Ohijenko, 13; Bahmet 130). Incidentally, the initial printing of the 16-page booklet took one year.

The orthographic rules of the Academy were not its only work bearing on the standard of the Ukrainian language. Several of the dictionaries summarily characterized above were prepared by the Academy. In 1921 an Institute of the Ukrainian Scientific Language was founded at the Academy; until 1925 it functioned under the general guidance of A. Kryms'kyj. The Institute's task was to prepare terminological dictionaries, primarily Russian-Ukrainian ones. During 1923, two were published: P. Tutkovs'kyj's dictionary of geological terminology, and O. Kurylo's dictionary of chemical terminology (Gregorovich, pos. 3, 4; these will be discussed in the next chapter).

A commission on the compilation of the contemporary (*žyva*) Ukrainian language began to function, also under A. Kryms'kyj. Its first achievement was the publication of the first volume of a *Rosijs'ko-ukrajins'kyj slovnyk* (A–Ž) (Kiev, 1924); prepared by V. Hancov, H. Holoskevyč, and M. Hrinčenko under the general guidance of Kryms'kyj (A. Nikovs'kyj and O. Synjavs'kyj had participated earlier, in 1919). The commission in charge of the compilation of the dictionary also employed a staff of 6 full-time and 75 casual workers. In 1921, these numbers were 10 and 19, respectively; in 1922 they dwindled to 4 and 5 respectively; and in 1923 they were 4 and 16 (*Zvidomlennja za 1922*, 8;. . . *za 1923*, 50). In the preface the editors state that their aim was to compile a dictionary of the Ukrainian literary language as it had developed over the last decades (i.e., since 1905), and especially during the last five years. Their list of sources, however, does not include a

[56] The Academy's "Section on Orthography" by 1920 had as its manager V. Durdukovs'kyj, a specialist in pedagogy, and V. Tutkovs'kyj, the son of academician Pavlo Tutkovs'kyj, a specialist in the natural sciences. The section was part of the Commission on Spelling and Terminology headed by A. Kryms'kyj and (in 1918) by A. Nikovs'kyj (*Zvidomlennja za 1920*, 82).

single writer of the Soviet period or any Soviet periodical (the only newspaper listed is *Nova rada*). In fact, the only Soviet source referred to is N. Buxarin's *Azbuka kommunizma*, in translation from the Russian; translations of the Holy Scriptures are also cited broadly. It was only in 1924 that some contemporary writers were included as sources of excerpts, among them M. Xvyl'ovyj, H. Kosynka, M. Ryl's'kyj, and P. Tyčyna (*Zvidomlennja za 1924*, 36).

What strikes the user of the dictionary is that in addition to literary works (beginning with Kotljarevs'kyj), a large number of ethnographic records from the Eastern and the Central Ukraine is included. Their appearance clearly continues the tradition of populist lexicography, above all, of B. Hrinčenko's dictionary of 1909. The Academy dictionary was thus a compromise between the populist approach, oriented on the peasantry, and the more modern attitude, reflecting the language of the intelligentsia and shaping it. The two trends may also reflect the interests of the two editors-in-chief: the populist proclivities of Kryms'kyj are obvious in all his writings, and a different trend might have been promoted by S. Jefremov (who did not participate formally in the preparation of volume 1; to accelerate publication, Kryms'kyj was in charge of volumes 1 and 2, whereas in April 1924 Jefremov became chief editor for volumes 3 and 4).

The first volume of the dictionary relied on a copious collection of lexical and phraseological cards (ca. 400,000). It included numerous synonyms and phrases and marked some words as characteristic of certain styles, though rather infrequently. It was a new phenomenon in Ukrainian lexicography, but its vacillations between standard and dialectal, urban and rural (often folkloric), made it somewhat eclectic, and the effort to represent the standard language often collided with a desire to introduce the richest material available. As the editors themselves put it, it was "sometimes not quite polished" and seemed more like "materials for a dictionary" (p. ix). For instance, under the Russian *videt'* one finds: *bačyty*, *vbačaty*, *vydity*, *zrity*. *Vydity* bears the remark "western," but nothing is said about whether the word is dialectal or regional. Under the entry for Russian *vnutrennosti*, one finds alongside other words such expressions as *skyndéji*, *bándury*, *bél'baxy*, without any note that they are slang terms. Among the phrases given for the word *voda*, one finds the Russian *voda žurčaščaja* translated as *dzjurkoton'ka* and the Russian *bol'šoe skoplenie vody* as *dunaj*; these are examples of stylistically neutral Russian expressions being translated into strikingly folkloric Ukrainian ones, in fact limited to folksongs, occasionally ad hoc formations conditioned contextually (this is probably true of *dzjurkoton'ka*, which in Hrinčenko's dictionary is cited from a poem by P. Kuliš and in the Academy dictionary appears without reference or stylistic

qualification). Such a general romantic-populist attitude, as well as a sheer insufficiency of lexicographic training on the part of some compilers, undoubtedly undermined the practical value and impact of the dictionary. But the very appearance of an Academy dictionary must have enhanced the prestige of the Ukrainian language, as did its other publications.

The Academy produced 12 pre-Soviet publications in 1918–1919, followed, under the Soviets, by none in 1920, 3 in 1921, 2 in 1922, 22 in 1923, and then 19 in just the first months of 1924 (*Zvidomlennja za 1923,* 162ff.)—this despite the fact that the state subsidy to the Academy was woefully inadequate (in 1924, 1,000 rubles per month for all operational expenses: *Zvidomlennja za 1924,* 7); it was even less in the preceding years, so that the paid staff of the Academy dwindled from the originally planned 600 to 147 at the beginning of 1922 to 117 by the end of 1923: *Zvidomlennja za 1924,* 7). Financial difficulties were the main cause of the delay in compiling and publishing the second and third volumes of the Academy dictionary, which did not appear until 1927.

In its publications the Academy appeared as an entirely Ukrainian institution, although that was not actually the case. *Zvidomlennja za 1920* stated that the historical and philological branch of the Academy was filled with Ukrainian collaborators, whereas "in the branch of mathematical sciences and natural history . . . representation of the Ukrainian element was very limited, even too limited, and the absolute majority of collaborators were purest Russians. In accordance with this makeup . . . all conferences of the historical and philological branch were conducted in Ukrainian, as were most [but not all—G.S] conferences in the division of economic and social sciences, but in the division of mathematics and natural history the conferences were held exclusively in Russian" (p. 2). *Zvidomlennja* continues: "But, following the statute of the Academy of Sciences, all studies without exception are published in Ukrainian . . . so that the outcome of all research of the Academy in all its divisions is in Ukrainian" (ibid.). One example (cited in *Zvidomlennja za 1922,* p. 46ff.) is the list of 52 papers read by members of the Association of Zoologists at the Academy. Of the 52, only seven were delivered in Ukrainian, and the remainder in Russian. In 1924, the leading economist at the Academy, K. Voblyj, published 18 items, many in periodicals with Ukrainian titles, yet all but one in Russian; his single Ukrainian article appeared in an Academy publication (*Zvidomlennja za 1924,* 53). Beginning with *Zvidomlennja za 1925,* all titles of papers read are given in Ukrainian, so that it cannot be known how many were actually delivered in Ukrainian.

The rise of literary associations had some bearing on the state and status of the Ukrainian language. Most leading writers of the pre-Soviet period emigrated (Vynnyčenko, Oles', Samijlenko, Čerkasenko, Voronyj among them) or fell silent. But gradually new voices that accepted the Soviet system let themselves be heard. Aside from the several ephemeral Futurist groups and regroupings, two stabler literary organizations emerged. First chronologically was Pluh (The plow; 1922). In harmony with the actual policy of the Communist party at the time, which accepted Ukrainian as the language of the peasantry but made no serious attempts to propagate it in the urban and industrial milieu, Pluh proclaimed that it would be an association of "peasant writers," that the toiling part of the peasantry is "the future proletariat," and that it aimed to recruit writers from among "the revolutionary, conscious peasantry" (Lejtes 2, 74).

Very soon, in 1923, a reaction came. Those who resented the restriction of the Ukrainian literature and language to the countryside and wanted to see Ukrainian conquer the city and the class that was officially the most advanced, the bearer of the future and the subject of dictatorship in the present—i.e., the workers—proclaimed themselves the mouthpiece of the proletariat. Led by the former Borot'bist V. Blakytnyj, they founded the association of "proletarian writers" called Hart (Hardening [of steel]). In contrast to Pluh, which, essentially, continued to espouse traditional populist topics, style, and language, at least some members of Hart took up urban topics and problems having a universal character, and afforded themselves fairly bold experimentation (M. Xvyl'ovyj, P. Tyčyna, a.o.). Without overtly breaking the party line, they broadened the use of the Ukrainian language much more than officially advised, and, by the same token, introduced substantial corrections into the party line, while propagating communist ideology in general policy and in their world view.

By the end of the Soviet pre-Ukrainianization period, in the press, in periodicals, in publications, in scholarship, and in literature, a new, Soviet-minded intelligentsia had begun to press against the locks which were intended to confine the Ukrainian language to the countryside. In a sense this was a resumption of the efforts made by M. Kocjubyns'kyj and his colleagues at the turn of the century, following the setback of the Soviet-Russian occupation. It augured the need for at least some changes in party policy or, perhaps, politics. That would happen in 1925. The attempt to suppress the Ukrainian language, during the first and, in part, the second occupations, and then to confine it, had failed. The vitality of the Ukrainian language had proved itself in the probations of the years 1918 to 1924.

Looked at from another angle, in those years both the social and internal deficiencies of the Ukrainian language had become clearly apparent. Because it was deprived of state protection, these were open to view. Socially, Ukrainian remained the language of the peasantry and the intelligentsia, in most cases humanistic—that is, of teachers, writers, artists. The language split within the Academy of Sciences (humanities vs. sciences) mirrored the situation in the entire society. The novelty was that new promoters of the Ukrainian language merged within the upper strata of the governing party, both the old Ukrainian Communists and the new recruits from among the Borot'bists and the like. The promoters were in the minority, however, and the party remained an essentially Russian organization. Among the industrial workers Russian continued to be the main means of communication, and peasants joining the industrial cadres (not many during that time) probably succumbed to Russification rather than Ukrainianized the older strata of workers.

Internally, the language absorbed a great number of Sovietisms in the areas of administration and ideology, which more often than not were loan translations from Russian, although many were not slavish translations (e.g., Russian *kombed = komitet sel'skoj bednoty* 'committee of poor peasants'—Ukrainian *komnezam = komitet nezamožnyx seljan*; Russian *dom krest'janina* 'peasant house'—Ukrainian *seljans'kyj budynok* ~ *sel'bud*, etc.). The main avenue for the introduction of such words were newspapers, followed by oral propaganda, and stylistic editors were often their creators. Interestingly enough, in areas where newspapers were not influential—i.e., outside administration and political agitation and propaganda—borrowings from Russian were not typical of the standard language (they abounded in the sub-standard language).

There was little regulation of the language by linguists, but what there was relied on native resources rather than resorted to borrowings. That policy characterized the linguists connected with the Academy of Sciences and its Institute of the Ukrainian Scientific Language. Dormant for several years, due to a lack of funds and, hence, of collaborators (e.g., in 1922 it had one paid worker: *Zvidomlennja za 1922*, 9) the Institute was reactivated in 1924, when H. Xolodnyj became the de facto director. In scientific and technological terminology, in the broad sense, the main method was to collect dialectal data and to promote "felicitous" words and expressions to literary status, either as they were or by modifying their meanings to fit the notion being rendered (e.g., *prohonyč*, originally 'shutterbolt'—i.e., an object of rural use—obtained the "industrial" meaning of 'bolt [in general, of any kind]', as an equivalent of the Russian *bolt*; see Shevelov 1977, 255). If no material for such semantic shifts was

available, and no term for a given notion was present in the language, the coining of a new word from existing, native components was preferred to the adoption of a Russianism. It is no surprise that in 1918 to 1924, most such words remained in the cardfiles of the Institute.

The language gap between the countryside and the cities, which neither time nor circumstances had allowed to be eliminated in the preceding period, became deeper and more blatant during the first five years of the Soviet regime. The situation cried out for change.

To be continued

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Remarks on the Ukrainian Theme in Modern Polish Poetry

STANISLAW BARANCZAK

What strikes the critic in investigating the theme of the Ukraine in modern Polish literature is the enormous disparity between its prominence in fiction and its near absence in poetry. So many fiction writers have located the action of their novels or short stories in the southeastern part of prewar Poland that critics have coined the term "szkoła kresowa" ("the Kresy school," Kresy being the traditional name for the prewar Eastern territories) to denote the phenomenon. Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, Leopold Buczkowski, Julian Stryjkowski, Andrzej Kuśniewicz, Włodzimierz Odojewski, and Stanisław Vincenz are the names most frequently mentioned in this connection. Significantly, all of them are representatives of the older, or at least middle, generation of modern Polish writers; the youngest of them, Odojewski, was born in 1930. Thus, if the Ukraine appears in their fiction, it does so naturally, as a world that has gone with the wind of history, as the land of their childhood or youth to which there is no return. Whether the landscape of the Ukrainian countryside or urban setting is shown in a dreamingly nostalgic way (as in Iwaszkiewicz) or in a brutally naturalistic manner (as in Buczkowski's novel *Wertepy*), whether the novel leans towards the metaphysical (as in Vincenz) or the political (as in Stryjkowski's *Czarna róża* and *Wielki strach*), the closing date is always 1944. (I am excluding novels on the civil war in the late 1940s, such as Jan Gerhard's ill-famed *Łuny w Bieszczadach*, which are not really novels at all, but rather biased propaganda disguised as popular fiction.) In other words, the writers' remembrance of the Ukraine is, as a rule, a remembrance of things past. Nevertheless, the Kresy school in fiction is a distinguishable trend in modern Polish literature, especially if we include in it the writers Czesław Miłosz, Józef Mackiewicz, and Tadeusz Konwicki, whose novels are set not in the Ukraine, but in Lithuania.

The same cannot be said about postwar Polish poetry. Oddly enough, what seems to be a powerful source of inspiration in fiction has produced rather modest and isolated results in the lyric realm. Moreover, the Ukrainian theme takes on such different shapes here and serves such different purposes that it is impossible to speak of the existence of any Kresy school in contemporary Polish poetry.

This article considers the reasons for this disparity. I also look at several different poetic approaches to the Ukrainian theme and address the question of why virtually none of them has proved satisfying in an artistic sense. Indeed, this essay could as appropriately be entitled "Remarks on the Failure of the Ukrainian Theme in Modern Polish Poetry."[1]

If one looks in Polish poetry not for superficial references to Ukrainian landscapes or customs (as in Iwaszkiewicz or Jan Śpiewak) but for a deep and abiding concern with the Ukrainian theme in a larger sense, only three names come to mind. Andrzej Kuśniewicz, Józef Łobodowski, and Jerzy Harasymowicz are, to my knowledge, the only prominent contemporary authors in whose poetic works the Ukrainian theme is not merely an echo of their upbringing in the Western Ukraine or their family ties, but something more—a set of associations which catalyzes their respective imaginations and philosophies. Despite this common bond, the work of the three poets is very different, and it is precisely in their individual approaches to the Ukrainian problem that their differences are the most marked.

Andrzej Kuśniewicz (born in 1904) is best known as one of Poland's most prominent fiction writers. Yet his literary career (which began when he was already nearly fifty) debuted with the publication of a few books of poems, of which the first one, *Słowa o nienawiści* (1956), was actually a long poem devoted entirely to the problem of Polish-Ukrainian relations in prewar Poland. In his later volumes, *Diabłu ogarek* (1959) and *Czas prywatny* (1962), the landscape and history of the Ukraine reappear time and again, but their role in his poetry gradually diminishes. To paraphrase the title of one review of these poems, "Between Freud and the Ukraine,"[2] we can say that there is definitely more of Freud than of the Ukraine, more obsession with the individual *id* than with history and society, in Kuśniewicz's later poetry.

Although Kuśniewicz's first volume was not received as a great artistic success—its significance was dimmed by a number of dazzling poetic debuts which occurred in the same year, 1956—it was nonetheless greeted warmly as one instance of a "thaw" in Polish culture after the years of Stalinism. Such was, at least, the substance of a review by the influential critic Kazimierz Wyka, who later incorporated that review in his famous

[1] A broader presentation of the history of the Ukrainian theme in Polish literature was offered by George G. Grabowicz in "The History of Polish-Ukrainian Literary Relations: A Literary and Cultural Perspective," in *Poland and Ukraine: Past and Present*, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj (Edmonton and Toronto, 1980).

[2] Jerzy Kwiatkowski, "Między Freudem a Ukrainą," in Kwiatkowski, *Remont Pegazów* (Warsaw, 1969), p. 20 fn.

collection of essays, *Rzecz wyobraźni* (1959). Wyka was too good a critic to overlook the artistic weaknesses of Kuśniewicz's debut; he welcomed the poem as "independent" and "politically honest," but also mentioned its "very uneven poetic value."[3] The title of the review, "Ukraińskie dziedzictwo" (The Ukrainian heritage) speaks for itself; Wyka thought it necessary to draw attention to Kuśniewicz's book chiefly because of its thematic novelty. After the years during which the inconvenient subject of the history of Polish-Ukrainian relations was totally suppressed, Kuśniewicz's head-on approach could indeed be considered a highly welcome breakthrough.

But was Kuśniewicz's book really "independent" and "politically honest"? This question got a ferociously negative response in another review, written by the émigré poet and critic Józef Łobodowski and published in the Paris monthly *Kultura.* There is no doubt that while Wyka was a far subtler literary critic, Łobodowski was much better qualified to assess the book's "political honesty." Even though his review was a quite vicious *ad personam* attack, Łobodowski nonetheless raised fundamental points about Kuśniewicz's distortions of historical truth. In Łobodowski's interpretation, the entire tragic and terribly complex problem of Polish-Ukrainian relations between 1918 and the 1940s had been reduced by Kuśniewicz to the single issue of social conflict:

> On the one hand, a Polish *pan*, an exploiter who has the police and army at his disposal; on the other, an ignorant Ukrainian peasant who is possessed by his just hatred and longing for revenge but who is, at the same time, being deceived by nationalistic leaders, represented mostly by the clergy. . . . That's it. [According to Kuśniewicz] The peasant's just cause will be victorious as soon as the [Polish] gentleman escapes across the Zaleszczyki [Zališčyky] bridge. The encroachment of the "liberating" Soviet army is discreetly left out of the account here.[4]

In the final analysis, says Łobodowski, Kuśniewicz's book does nothing to heal mutual wounds. By distorting historical truth and reducing the conflict to a primitively Marxist conception of class struggle, *Słowa o nienawiści* ultimately becomes "Words of Hatred" rather than "Words on Hatred."[5]

What is it that the poet hates? Łobodowski tries to answer this question by resorting to a brutal—although effective, in this particular case—method of biographical and psychological interpretation. Kuśniewicz knew the

[3] Kazimierz Wyka, "Ukraińskie dziedzictwo," in Wyka, *Rzecz wyobraźni* (Warsaw, 1959), pp. 282, 276.
[4] Józef Łobodowski, "Kompleks nienawiści," *Kultura* (Paris), 1958, no. 11, p. 135.
[5] Cf. Łobodowski, "Kompleks nienawiści," p. 132.

Ukraine from his three-year stint as a diplomat at the Polish consulate in Užhorod between 1936 and 1939. In other words, he was himself an executor of the policy of the prewar regime that he so vehemently condemns. After having survived a Nazi concentration camp, however, he in 1945 joined the Communist party and became a diplomat again, this time in France, in the service of the Communist regime. Łobodowski interprets this as behavior typical of a spineless intellectual who, lacking any ideology of his own, subscribes to whatever system is in power and, as one consequence, after each change of skin finds it necessary to manifest his hatred towards his old way of life, old beliefs, old social milieu. Even though, as I have already stressed, Łobodowski's argument refers more to the man than to his work, there is no doubt that critics such as Wyka praised Kuśniewicz's "independence" and "political honesty" as regards the Ukrainian theme too hastily and too unreservedly. In fact, the only merit of his poem was that it was the first publication in Poland to dare to mention the very existence of the Polish-Ukrainian conflict after years of total silence. But the book itself, its artistic weaknesses notwithstanding, provided no genuine insight into the problem and in fact did nothing to promote Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation, despite all its protestations of good will. Once again the rule proved true that whatever the author's intent may be, distortion or concealment of reality—if dictated by non-artistic reasons—must result in both artistic and intellectual failure.

Łobodowski's assault on Kuśniewicz's oversimplified vision of Polish and Ukrainian recent history was all the more important because if anyone had the right to protest against the neglect of the Ukrainian theme in Polish poetry, it was precisely Łobodowski. In this respect, nothing could be more revealing than a comparison of these two poets. Łobodowski is only five years younger than Kuśniewicz, but his literary career has been very different. While Kuśniewicz served as a diplomat in the service of the Sanacja government, Łobodowski belonged to a group of young, leftist, anti-establishment poets. During the war years, when Kuśniewicz was increasingly leaning towards Communism, Łobodowski had already rejected his leftist illusions.[6] Finally, after the war, when Kuśniewicz resurfaced as a Communist diplomat, Łobodowski chose to stay in the West (he had escaped from occupied Poland in 1939) and become an émigré poet. Throughout his career, he maintained a strong interest in Ukrainian history and culture and did a great deal to popularize them among his Polish

[6] Cf. his autobiographical remarks in the footnotes to his volume *Modlitwa na wojnę* (London, 1947), pp. 95–99.

readers. When I said that Kuśniewicz's work had the merit of being the first, I had in mind, of course, only books published in post-1944 Poland; one should remember, though, that as far as the whole of modern Polish poetry is concerned, it was Łobodowski who played the pioneering role in promoting the Ukrainian theme. He was already a prolific translator of Ukrainian poetry as early as the 1930s, and just before the outbreak of war he submitted for publication a volume of his Ukraine-related poems, *Złota Hramota*. The volume was eventually published in Paris in 1954, after the publication of another collection, *Modlitwa na wojnę* (1947), which was also full of Ukrainian references, including an important verse polemic with the poet Svjatoslav Hordyns'kyj. All in all, Łobodowski had already published several significant poetic works on the Ukrainian theme before 1956; unfortunately, these circulated mainly within the émigré community and were virtually unknown in Poland. It is no wonder, then, that in 1956 Poland-based critics so readily credited the poetic "discovery" of the Ukraine to Kuśniewicz.

Łobodowski, on the other hand, can truly be called "the discoverer of the Ukraine" for the Poles, as he was called by the Ukrainian writer Jurij Kosač.[7] Moreover, critics agree that it was his "Ukrainian phase" in the 1940s and 1950s that produced his best and most original poems.[8] One cannot, however, escape the impression that the significance of Łobodowski's poetry is of a moral and political, rather than artistic, nature. To put it briefly, he is a passionate advocate of Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation in the face of the common enemy—Soviet totalitarianism. This fact has two direct consequences. First, as a poetic supporter of the political line of the Paris monthly *Kultura*, Łobodowski cannot possibly come to terms with the more traditionally-minded part of the "old" Polish emigration; second, under no circumstances can he be accepted by the Communist establishment in Poland (indeed, even during periods of relative relaxation of censorship, not a single work of Łobodowski's has been published in Poland).

One would expect, then, that Łobodowski's ideas might at least be popular among the younger Polish readers who, more often than not, favor reconciliation among the different national groups and who are, at the same time, immune to Communist propaganda. But here the trouble begins. It is true that the same ideas Łobodowski has always advocated are more or less accessible to the young minds of the 1980s. Whoever looks at the underground cultural scene in today's Poland cannot doubt that chauvinistic attitudes are more and more often rejected and condemned, the brotherhood of

[7] In *Wiadomości* (London), 439 (1955).

[8] Cf. Maria Danilewicz Zielińska, *Szkice o literaturze emigracyjnej* (Paris, 1978), p. 157.

all oppressed nations seems to be simple common sense, and there is an increasing demand for a true history of the difficult and often tragic relationships between these various nationalities and ethnic groups. Does this mean that Łobodowski's poetry has a chance of becoming popular among today's readers? I seriously doubt that. As a political thinker and moralist, Łobodowski was indeed a forerunner; as a poet, he sounded out of date even forty years ago, to say nothing of today. His poems are, in fact, convincing and timely ideas clothed in a poetic form that is woefully outdated and therefore unpersuasive. For example, in the following apostrophe we hear obvious stylistic echoes of Juliusz Słowacki's *Odpowiedź na Psalmy przyszłości*, a Romantic poem written one century earlier:

> . . . kto nie stroi w pusty szych
> narodowych Świętych kości,
> ale, słysząc dnie przeszłości,
> przyszłe wieki ujrzy w nich,
> ten odgadnie Ducha kształt
> w zapowiednich Bożych listach,—
> wieczny rewolucjonista,
> wyzwolony z męki ciał.
>
> . . . whoever does not adorn
> the bones of the nation's Saints with meaningless tinsel
> but, hearing the days of the past,
> is able to see the future centuries in them,
> he will guess the shape of the Spirit
> in God's auguries—
> he, the eternal revolutionary
> liberated from the bodies' torment.[9]

Likewise, in the following fragment, the most modern association that comes to mind is the poet Julian Tuwim (of the generation preceding Łobodowski's) and his famous "Jamby polityczne":

> To łatwo pisać długi wykaz
> bezmyślnych krzywd, odwiecznych win,
> gdy samo imię przeciwnika
> usta jak żrący pali płyn;
> łatwo przekonać w świętych racjach,
> gdy pieśń, jak gniewna demonstracja,
> spada na tłumy i pogrzeby. . .
> —A powiedz mi, czyś nigdy nie był
> samotny bardzo w takich dniach,

[9] Łobodowski, "Genezis z Ducha," in Łobodowski, *Modlitwa*, pp. 13–14.

gdy motłoch huczy entuzjazmem,
i groźny lęk, tragiczny strach
nie zdusił krtani nagłym spazmem?

It is easy to write a long list
of thoughtless wrongdoings and centuries-old sins
when the name of the adversary alone
burns your mouth like a caustic fluid;
it is easy to convince and to be perfectly right
when a song, like an angry demonstration,
falls upon throngs and funerals. . .
—But tell me, have you never been
very lonely in days like those,
when a mob roars with enthusiasm,
and has a menacing fear or tragic dread
never choked your throat with a sudden spasm?[10]

The tragedy of Łobodowski is that he never succeeded in finding a timely medium to convey his very timely message. His poetry, for all its topicality and moral force, remains epigonic, suspended somewhere between the style of the Romantics and that of the poets of the prewar Skamander group. It is my fear that even if censorship did not exist, the poems of Łobodowski would not be able to reach the younger generations of readers in Poland.

The third and last poet in this brief presentation, Jerzy Harasymowicz, differs from both Kuśniewicz and Łobodowski in at least two essential respects. In the first place, he is a generation younger (he was born in 1933); second, he is unquestionably very popular (although his popularity peaked in the late 1950s and early 1960s and since that time his poetry has met with increasing criticism).[11] In regard to the specific issue of the Ukrainian theme in his poetry, there is a third difference as well: while both Kuśniewicz and Łobodowski focused on the *past* of Polish-Ukrainian relations (not unlike those Polish fiction writers who, as we said, rarely overstep the boundary of 1944 in treating the Ukrainian theme), Harasymowicz is to date the only important Polish poet to introduce, albeit rather timidly, the theme of Polish-Ukrainian relations in their present, post-1944 shape.

10 Łobodowski, "Światosławowi Hordyńskiemu," in Łobodowski, *Modlitwa*, p. 47.

11 Harasymowicz's open support of the military regime after 1981 certainly did not help increase his popularity among Polish readers. Cf. recent polemics in the underground press, such as Woyski [a pseudonym], "Zdrada Harasymowicza," *Arka*, 1983, no. 4.

This subject did not appear in Harasymowicz's poetry at its start, i.e., at the time of his critically acclaimed debut in 1956. It was several more years before he started writing, in 1961, the series of "Elegie łemkowskie" (The Lemko elegies) which were later incorporated into his volume *Podsumowanie zieleni* (1964). In a recent lengthy interview (published with the significant title "Próbuję połączyć obydwa światy" [I'm trying to bring both worlds together])[12] he emphasizes that his interest in things Ukrainian has not diminished over the years, and he offers an explanation of this ongoing obsession by referring to his own biography and family background. His father was "of Ukrainian descent and he came from an old Cossack family which had been in the service of the Wiśniowieckis (Vyšnevec'kyjs) since around the sixteenth century."[13] The elder Harasymowicz, although he did not conceal his nationality and belonged to the Greek-Catholic church, was a professional officer in the Polish army. Regardless of whether all this is true (more probably, it is the poet's personal myth), his mixed family background would explain Harasymowicz's fascination with everything that represents an osmosis between the Polish and Ukrainian cultures (for instance, the Uniate church).

There is, however, a more specific theme in Harasymowicz's poetry which is drawn from personal experience—the theme of the Lemkos and Bojkos, their forced resettlement and the numerous acts of injustice against them, as well as their endangered culture. This theme is most characteristic of the early phase of Harasymowicz's interest in the Polish-Ukrainian problem,[14] and his poems of that phase remain, in my opinion, more valuable than the later ones. Harasymowicz's lips were obviously sealed by the censor and by self-censorship; therefore, in these poems he never spoke overtly about the painful issues of national prejudices and the historical reasons for mutual distrust. What he offered instead was a series of symbolic, although quite concrete, images in which the desolated remnants of the Lemko culture became a source of both nostalgia and compassion. In particular, the image of a deserted and neglected Lemko church (Harasymowicz

[12] "'Próbuję połączyć obydwa światy.' Z Jerzym Harasymowiczem na temat obrazu Kresów we współczesnej literaturze polskiej rozmawia Piotr Łuczka," *Nurt*, 1983, nos. 7, 8, 10.

[13] "'Próbuję połączyć obydwa światy,'" *Nurt*, 1983, no. 7, p. 7.

[14] Only after having completed this article did I have the opportunity to read some of Harasymowicz's most recent statements, in which the poet's conformance with the regime's political line makes him perform a complete about-face as regards the Ukrainian question. Cf. especially the interview "Chwast płomienisty i złowrogi—burzan nacjonalizmu," interv. Wojciech Klemiato, *Gazeta Krakowska* (May 1986), in which Harasymowicz vehemently accuses the Lemkos living in Poland of fostering "Ukrainian nationalism" and thus collaborating with "various enemies of our Fatherland."

remembered such churches from his childhood, which was spent in the Beskyd mountains) recurs in his poetry of that period with obsessive frequency:

Do cerkwi kopuły cebuli czerwonej płaczą jesienie
Rankiem już szron osiada na świętego Marcina mieczu
Głodno i chłodno ruskim świętym pod cienkim szkarłatnym
  olejem
Pod chórem piszczą myszy w starocerkiewnym narzeczu

Z głodu święci pastorał gryzą zębem greckokatolickim
Pozrywali już wszystkie jabłka w swoim tle zielonym
Przepadł gdzieś ich Wasyl wierny sługa
Nie ma kto śpiewem ruskich świętych napoić

W gąszczu dzikim świecą cerkwi hełmy
Jak baśniowej drużyny Olega
Ocalała w pogromie zupełnym
Malinowa jarzębina jak chorągiew powiewa

Autumns weep to the red onion of the church's dome
In the morning hoar-frost already covers St. Martin's sword
The Ruthenian saints are hungry and cold under a thin layer
  of scarlet oil
Underneath the gallery mice peep in the Old Church Slavonic tongue

The saints are so hungry they bit their crosiers with their
  Greek-Catholic teeth
They have already picked all the apples in their green background
Wasyl their faithful servant got lost somewhere
There is nobody to give the Ruthenian saints a song to drink

The church's domes shine in the wild thicket
Like the helmets of Oleh's fairy-tale retinue
The raspberry-red rowan tree which survived the crushing defeat
Flutters in the wind like a banner.[15]

The poem which I have just quoted also provides a good example of Harasymowicz's shortcomings. His characteristic "poetization"[16] of observed reality and penchant for pleasant aesthetic effects result in the poem's, for all its apparent nostalgia and compassion, remaining intrinsically sentimental. There is no tragedy and no history here; the desolated church is shown as if it were an element of nature, with its own set of rules

[15] Jerzy Harasymowicz, "Łemkowszczyzna," in Harasymowicz, *Wybór wierszy 1955–1973* (Cracow, 1975), p. 142.

[16] Cf. Edward Balcerzan, "Poetyckość i poetyzacja. O twórczości Jerzego Harasymowicza," *Nurt*, (1967), no. 12.

for withering and dying. More important, the whole image is overburdened with mild but superfluous aesthetic effects; rich colors and the harmonious arrangement of sounds make the poem pretty instead of moving or thought-provoking. Harasymowicz himself is first to admit that his poetry is a-intellectual.[17] There would be nothing wrong with that were it not that he deals with complex matters that need not only to be *felt*, but also to be *understood*. It is no accident that the relative success of the early phase of Harasymowicz's Ukrainian theme was not repeated in his later phase, when he began to explore in his poems the *history* of Polish-Ukrainian relations (particularly the seventeenth century). Despite occasional flashes of grotesque humor and amusing imagery, his volumes published in the late 1970s—such as *Barokowe czasy* (1975) or *Cudnów* (1979)—add nothing to already existing literary stereotypes. The figure of a Greek-Catholic saint in a ruined church at least conveyed some truth about our epoch; the figure of a seventeenth-century Cossack, as portrayed by Harasymowicz, is just another version (albeit shown in a more favorable light) of the clichéd image inherited from Henryk Sienkiewicz's novels.

The evolution of the Ukrainian theme in Harasymowicz's work provides one more answer to the question of why Polish poetry has fallen short in this thematic field. As opposed to the novel, which, being an epic genre, favors the past tense, lyrical poetry does not lend itself easily to the telling of history. If it is supposed to speak of the past, it does so in the present tense, as it were, from the point of view of the present. Thus the only partly successful Polish poems about the Polish-Ukrainian relationship as a whole have been those poems of Harasymowicz in which he attempted to combine the past and the present in the symbolic image of the desolated ruins of Lemko culture. On the other hand, whenever poetry, for whatever reason, gives up its present-tense perspective, the only possible outcome is a series of stereotypes and clichés. Unfortunately, today, when the importance of true literary testimony to Polish-Ukrainian relations is becoming more and more widely recognized, the older generation of writers who could bear witness to both the past and present of these relations is gradually disappearing from the center of the literary scene. What remains to younger poets is their present experience—which, if they were born within the past four decades, does not necessarily include any personal encounter with the Ukraine or the Ukrainians. The explanation of the past belongs not to them, but to historians.

Harvard University

[17] Cf. " 'Próbuję połączyć obydwa światy,' " *Nurt*, 1983, no. 8, p. 5.

DOCUMENTS

Three Charters from the End of the Seventeenth Century

Edited and Introduced by
VALERIE A. TUMINS

with Commentary by
BOHDAN A. STRUMINSKY

INTRODUCTION

The Allen Collection, located in the Manuscript Department of the Lilly Library at the Indiana University,[1] has among its holdings three beautiful charters issued by the co-tsars Ivan and Pëtr Alekseeviči.[2] Two of the charters confirm grants of land and other property for services to the present and previous tsars. The third confirms ownership of inherited and purchased land and real estate, thus concluding a dispute over some of the property. All three charters concern property in the Ukraine, and in all three Hetman Ivan Mazepa is mentioned as the top government official whose reports were requested and taken into consideration.[3]

The entire text of each charter is written on one side of a sheet of paper and each is framed by a rich border of flowers and leaves, a typical seventeenth-century pattern for such borders (reproductions appear on pp. 199–204). While the size of the charters is the same, the ornamental borders are of differing widths and styles. Where a wide border is used considerably less space remains for the text; therefore the script is smaller than in a charter with a narrower border, and the concluding lines are compressed and less legible.

1 I am grateful to Edward Kasinec, Chief of the Slavonic Division at the New York Public Library, for finding these documents and making them available to me through the resources of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University.

2 Peter and his older brother Ivan were proclaimed co-tsars in 1682, with their sister Sophia named regent. In 1689 Sophia was confined to a convent; in January 1696 Ivan died, and Peter I became officially the sole ruler of Russia.

3 Ivan Stepanovych Mazepa was elected hetman of the Ukraine in 1687. He enjoyed Peter I's favor until 1708, when he joined forces with Charles XII, king of Sweden, against the Russian autocrat.

As was customary for government charters, all three of the charters under discussion are signed in the right-hand lower corner by a *d'jak,* the head of the department responsible for the document. All three were issued by the Department for Ukrainian Affairs (Prikaz Maloj Rossiji), usually part of the Department for Foreign Affairs (Posol'skij prikaz). On the verso, at the top of the sheet, the same *d'jak* wrote in two lines the titled names of both tsars, with many loops and flourishes.[4] At the bottom right-hand corner of the verso there is the signature of the clerk who wrote the text and vetted (*spravil*) it after it was copied by the scribe. On the left, slightly higher than the clerk's signature, there is on all three charters a three-line note in an eighteenth-century script, stating that a copy of the document was made on 27 September 1766 for the general inspection committee.[5] All three are signed by Lieutenant-Colonel Ivan Iumatov.

The artistic execution of a charter provides a clue about the importance of the occasion or of the person to whom it was issued. Our three charters show a distinct difference in ornamentation. Two of them (Allen MSS 29:15 and 29:16) confirm grants to the colonel of Černihiv, Jakiv Kondrat'evyč Lyzohub.

The wording of the first and earliest charter (Allen MS 29:15), dated September 1689, indicates that the charter is the tsars' direct reply to Lyzohub's petition for recognition of his services; they are responding by granting him certain properties. Because it seems to be the first charter given to Lyzohub by the tsars Ivan and Petr Alekseeviči, it has a more formal and more elegant artistic execution. A simple linear frame around the text is topped by a rich design of flowers and leaves; in the center two birds hold a gracefully designed plaque with the double-headed eagle. Along the bottom the linear frame is broken by an elegantly designed descending half-circle, providing space for the seal, which has not been preserved. At its top left corner the linear frame is broken to permit the blending of the first word of the tsars's title, "Božieju," executed in an exquisite *vjaz'* into the outer flower border, which is in the same style as the one on the right but differs in design. The title of the tsars, up to the enumeration of the places that they rule, occurs in an elegant *vjaz'* of two lines that takes the space of seven lines of regular text.

[4] After his brother Ivan died, Peter began to sign important government documents. Up to that time it was considered below the dignity of a Russian ruler to sign any kind of official letter or document personally: only the tsar's seal was attached, and the *d'jak* signed the documents in the monarch's name.

[5] Considering the date noted, it is highly probable that the office that kept these charters on file was audited in connection with the work of Catherine II's Legislative Commission. She had her "Instruction" (*Nakaz*) ready for distribution in 1767.

The second charter (Allen MSS 29:16), dated January 1695, is also directed to Lyzohub, for subsequent services. The wording suggests that it was proposed by Mazepa, possibly in a routine distribution of merits. The ornamental border framing the text is wider; it represents a combination of two border designs with repeated motifs. This frame is more cumbersome and less elegant than the frame of the first charter; also, it encircles the text without a break. Neither the double-headed eagle nor a place for the seal is included in the border or elsewhere on the face of the charter. However, the silk and brocade wrapping is preserved; its folded end was used to hang the tsar's seal. The names of the tsars are given in two lines as in the first charter, but the first word of the title is somewhat smaller than its counterpart in the first charter, although in the same elegant *vjaz'* pattern, and occurs within the frame rather than as a part of it.

The third charter (Allen MS 29:17), dated March 1690, is issued to Stepan Otroxiv, mayor of Černihiv. It confirms his ownership of some land and real estate, which others have disputed. This document names many low-ranking and historically unimportant people. It may be of interest to economic historians, however, because the prices of some properties that changed hands are mentioned. The design of this charter is much simpler than that of the previous two. An elegant, uncluttered design of stylized flowers across the top reaches down about two-thirds of the page on both sides of the page. The lower part of the margins and the bottom are without ornamentation. The top thirty-two lines are indented on the left to accommodate the first word of the tsars' title, ''Božieju,'' here rendered in the same *vjaz'* pattern as in the two other charters but in a design appropriate to its simpler frame. The rest of the title is in the same script as the text; the letters are only slightly taller. The right margin is uneven, but the handwriting itself is extremely even and clear. The margins are considerably narrower than in the other two charters, consequently the lines of the text are one and one-quarter to one and one-half inches longer. Here squeezing the text into the space left by an ornate frame was not necessary. The silk cloth extending from the lower part of the document is of one color and much narrower than in the previous charter.

The texts of the charters follow the set pattern for such documents. To have a charter issued for a grant received from the tsar, or for property purchased or inherited, the new owner had to file a petition. The charter begins with the full title of the tsar (tsars, in this case) followed by the date of the petition, a more or less detailed list of services for which the petitioner has received a grant, and a complete list of the granted, bought, or inherited property for which the charter is sought. This is followed by the tsar's agreement to issue a charter for the said services, and the list of granted,

bought, or inherited property is repeated. A short concluding paragraph reiterates the tsar's granting the charter, and might mention any special conditions: whether the property may be inherited by the grantee's wife or children, whether the property may be given to the daughter as dowry, sold, or whatever else. This last section again begins with the titled name of the tsar, this time without, however, an enumeration of his princedoms. In the charters to Lyzohub the section is set off by somewhat larger letters and by the same color of ink as the beginning of the document. In the charter issued to Otroxiv this last part is set off not graphically, but by a space about three letters wide in the middle of the line.

The language of the charter is formulaic, using the bureaucratic terminology of the time, and the spelling is inconsistent. For instance, all the following spelling variations of one phrase can be found: *на гребле–на греблѣ–на грѣбле–на грѣблѣ.*

There are West and South Slavic lexical and phraseological units, as well as words of Germanic origin. They are taken over from Ukrainian documents and represent realia in the Cossack Hetmanate. In most cases their source can be traced to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, where the official language was Ruthenian with Polish, Latin, and German elements. The structure of official documents demanded that the text to which answer or comment was being given be repeated. That allowed easy adoption of words and expressions used in the original documents. There was always the chance that a Germanic word, for instance, could have entered the Russian language directly, without the intermediary of Polish or Ukrainian. All too often only one or two examples are extant in earlier written sources, which does not mean that the word was not yet used earlier, frequently, or even orally in chancery circles. One such example could be the word *грунтъ.* Although attested in the digraph spelling *кгрунтъ* in fourteenth-century documents of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and only in 1430 with the spelling *грунтъ* in a document of the Lithuanian Grand Prince Svidrigailo,[6] an earlier and direct acquisition of that word from German cannot be excluded. On the other hand, *Ратушный,* the adjective from *ратуша,* a word derived from the German *Rathaus*, must have come via the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, where it was used to designate an administrative unit. In Russia, Peter I instituted

6 L. L. Humec'ka (Humeckaja), "Zametki ob ukrainsko-zapadnoslavjanskix leksičeskix svjazjax drevnego 'perioda,'" in *Problemy istorii i dialektologii slavjanskix jazykov* (Moscow, 1971), p. 113.

ратуша in 1699,[7] or later than those charters were written. ***Воитъ***, from the German *Vogt*, was used in the Ukraine and Belorussia for "mayor,"[8] and may have come to Muscovite Russia via these territories.

The Slavonic word ***листъ*** had in all Slavic languages the meaning "leaf of a tree," and then gradually, like in other European languages, acquired its other meanings: "leaf of a book" (11th c.), or "letter" (13th c.); in the fourteenth century it became in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania the word for a written document, whether charter, letter, or other.[9] F. Sergeev considers it to be a Polonism in the meaning "charter."[10]

Гребля, грѣбля, гробля is attested as early as in the eleventh-century *Pověst vremennyx lět*, under the years 977 and 1090,[11] and in the First Novgorod Chronicle, under 1158 and 1373. In these chronicles the word is used in a military context.[12] According to F. P. Filin, ***гребля*** is not attested in later Novgorod and Pskov writings, nor does it exist in the contemporary Russian literary language, except in localities bordering with the Ukraine and Belorussia.[13]

Посполитый derives from a Polish word that in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania meant "commoner."

Phraseologisms can be identified more easily because they are often standard phrases in another language. Some examples from these charters are ***ведомо чинит***', ***до бортей, подь зарядомь***—all from the Ukrainian documents quoted.

In my transcription of the charters (appendix, pp. 205–14) all abbreviated words have been written out in full within brackets where they had been omitted, although the same words may appear in other lines. Prepositions have been separated from the noun. Contemporary punctuation and capitalization have been introduced.

Some time ago a reproduction of these charters attracted the attention of Dr. Bohdan Struminsky, who began research on the figures and places referred to therein. Since my edition of the charters focuses on their formal aspect, with a minimum of references to their historical context,

[7] *Dictionary of Russian Historical Terms from the Eleventh Century to 1917*, comp. by S. G. Pushkarev, ed. G. Vernadsky and R. T. Fisher, Jr. (New Haven, 1970).

[8] *Dictionary of Russian Historical Terms*, s.v.

[9] *Dictionary of Russian Historical Terms*, s.v.; I. I. Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka*, 3 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1893–1912), s.v.

[10] F. Sergeev, *Formirovanie russkogo diplomatičeskogo jazyka* (Lviv, 1978), p. 190; *Dictionary of Russian Historical Terms*, s.v.

[11] *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1962), pp. 74, 75, 250.

[12] F. P. Filin, *Proisxoždenie russkogo, ukrainskogo i belorusskogo jazykov* (Leningrad, 1972), p. 569.

[13] Filin, *Proisxoždenie jazykov.*

Dr. Struminsky's commentary, the result of his independent work, are of great interest.

Valerie A. Tumins
University of California at Davis

COMMENTARY

All three documents that are presented here by Professor Tumins were previously published by M. P. Vasylenko, but his publications are unsatisfactory for historical, exegetical and philological reasons. Vasylenko published the charters of September 1689 and 26 March 1690 in *General'noe sledstvie o maetnostjax Černigovskogo polka 1729–1730 gg.* (Černihiv, 1908; pp. 160–64 and 353–54), and the charter of 23 January 1695 in *Materialy dlja istorii èkonomičeskogo, juridičeskogo i obščestvennogo byta staroj Malorossii*, vol. 1 (Černihiv, 1901; pp. 202–206). Among other things, Vasylenko misdated the first charter "September 3, 1689," having taken the grammatical ending ^{г} of an unfilled place for the day of the month for "three." Both charters to Colonel Jakiv Lyzohub were also quoted by V. Modzalevs'kyj who, in his *Malorossijskij rodoslovnik*, vol. 3 (Kiev, 1912; p. 97), misdated the first "1690," having mechanically subtracted 5508 from 7198.

My notes and commentary that follow are divided into four thematic groups: (1) historical events, (2) documents cited, (3) persons, (4) places.

Historical events

Čyhyryn campaigns. The Čyhyryn campaigns mentioned in the charter of September 1689 in which Jakiv Lyzohub is said to have participated were the two campaigns of the pro-Muscovite hetman Ivan Samojlovyč with his Muscovite allies against the pro-Turkish hetman Petro Dorošenko.

The first campaign began at the end of January 1674, when Samojlovyč crossed the Dnieper into the Right-Bank Ukraine controlled by Dorošenko. Samojlovyč besieged Dorošenko in his capital of Čyhyryn that June, but had to retreat two weeks later, when Tatar troops sent by the Turks to help Dorošenko arrived (Dor. II, pp. 87–88). Early in that campaign the Kaniv regiment under the leadership of Lyzohub betrayed Dorošenko and went over to the other side (Dor. II, p. 87).

The second campaign by Hetman Samojlovyč and the Muscovite boyar Grigorij Romodanovskij against Dorošenko took place in September 1676. This time, having no Tatar-Turkish help and few troops of his own, Dorošenko capitulated and surrendered at Čyhyryn, on 19 September 1676 (Dor. II, p. 89).

The Crimea campaigns. The first of the Crimean campaigns mentioned in the charter for Jakiv Lyzohub of September 1689 was undertaken by a joint army of Muscovy and the Hetmanate (*Malorossija*) under the Muscovite Prince Vasilij Golicyn and Hetman I. Samojlovyč at the end of May 1687. Their target was Orkapısı (Perekop). A steppe fire started by the Tatars brought the armies to a halt. A group of Cossack officers, including Jakiv Lyzohub, wrote a denunciation of Samojlovyč, blaming him for the failure of the campaign, and presented it to Prince Golicyn. On 22 July 1687, Samojlovyč was arrested at the camp on the Kolomak river and deported. Soon thereafter his son Hryhorij, colonel of Černihiv and commander of an advance army, was also arrested and executed. Ivan Mazepa was elected the new hetman. Participants in the betrayal of Samojlovyč were rewarded with promotions: Jakiv Lyzohub received the office of colonel of Černihiv on 23 July 1687 (Dor. II, pp. 99–101; Gaj., p. 73).

The second campaign against the Crimea was begun in March 1689 by a Muscovite army under the same Prince Golicyn; the next month the Cossack army of Mazepa joined in. Their combined forces reached Orkapısı at the end of May but, once again halted by Tatar scorched-earth tactics, it retreated in June. The campaign amounted to nothing more than a military show of force, but it was proclaimed a great success, and its participants were showered with rewards by Tsarina Sophia (Dor. II, p. 104).

Documents cited

City record books of Černihiv, 1686–1689. The charter of 1690 mentions excerpts from the record books of Černihiv presented to the Diplomatic Office in Moscow by Stepan, Otrox's son. They include deeds of purchase of property by Stepan from Fes'ko, Jakym's son, and Ivan, Semen-Moločko's son, in 1686; from the Reverend Illja, Jevfym's son, in 1687; from Tymiš and Vasylij Šušara in 1688; and from Prokip Andrijanko, Ždan's son, in 1689.

I. Mazepa's charter of summer 1689. Mazepa granted the villages of Slabyn, Bihač, and Solonivka with a mill, etc., to Lyzohub. The document (mentioned by Modz. III, 97) must have been issued after the Crimean campaign, which ended in June 1689, but before 1 September 1689, the beginning of a new Byzantine year, because otherwise the Muscovite charter of September 1689 would not have dated it at "the past year."

I. Mazepa's charter issued between 1 September 1689 and 26 March 1690. This is Mazepa's confirmation of the ownership of some fields by Stepan, Otrox's son; this charter has been previously unknown.

I. Mazepa's charter of 12 December 1694. This is Mazepa's grant of the village of Sosnivka, with mills, etc., to Jakiv Lyzohub (mentioned by Modz. III, p. 97). A similar grant by Mazepa preceded this one on 17 August 1687 (Laz. Liz., p. 104).

Persons

The names of the tsars Ivan and Peter and of the hetman Ivan Mazepa are not included as entries.

Only noblemen (including some Cossack officers) had actual surnames, which are listed below. Other people were known by their Christian names or sometimes by their patronymics (in *-ovyč*, *-enko*; rendered as *-ov* by Muscovites); they are listed by their Christian names here. Some commoners also had nicknames which later often became surnames; therefore they are listed by those nicknames here.

Beržanyn, Maksym—a resident of Černihiv, city councillor under Magdeburg law, witness to the sale of a water-wheel on the river Bilous by the Reverend Illja, Jevfym's son, to Stepan, Otrox's son, in 1687.

Birin, Ivan—a clerk assistant in Moscow who proofread the charter of September 1689 for Lyzohub.

Bobinin, Vasilij—a clerk of the Diplomatic Office who signed the charter of 23 January 1695 for Lyzohub. He was also a clerk in the Office for *Malorossija* which was subordinated to the Diplomatic Office; he is mentioned there in Muscovite documents of 1677–1678 (Sofr., pp. 62, 66). He died in 1697 (Azb. I, s. v.).

Čeredeev, Ivan—the person who proofread the charter of 23 January 1695 for Lyzohub. He was also known as a clerk in 1697 (Azb. II, s.v.).

Dmytrij, Demyd's son (Demydenko)—a Cossack from the Ljubeč company, resident of Ljubeč, witness to the sale of fields by Tymofij and Vasylij Šušara to Trofym, son of Ihnat, in 1688.

Dunyn-Borkovs'kyj (Burkovs'kyj), Vasylij, Kasper's (Karpo's) son—coat of arms "Łabędź," born in 1640 (Lip., pp. 494–95), apparently a former Catholic who joined the Cossacks and changed his Catholic Christian name. He was the captain of the Vybli company in 1668–1672, as well as of the Černihiv company in 1669–1670, and colonel of the Černihiv company in 1672–1686 (Gaj., pp. 120, 85, 72–73; Lip., p. 495); quartermaster general in 1685–1702 (Gaj., p. 658); one of the chief authors of the

denunciation of Hetman I. Samojlovyč to the Muscovites in July 1687 (Dor. II, p. 100); and recipient of a charter from Hetman Mazepa dated 5 October 1687, by which he received the village of Tupyčiv and the Poletyka dike and a watermill on the Smjač river (Modz. I, p. 485–86; Vas., p. 430).

Fes'ko, Jakym's son—this man, together with Ivan, Semen-Moločko's son, sold to Stepan, Otrox's son, some land in the area of Ljubeč (specifically including the village of Mylkivščyna) in 1686.

Hryhorij, Jaxym's son (Ivanovyč-Jaxymovyč)—chief juror of Černihiv in 1680, owner of the villages of Berezynka and Svyn in the Rojišče company of the Černihiv regiment (Vas., pp. 47, 664–66), relative of the Reverend Illja, Jevfym's son, and probably a brother of Ivan and Koz'ma, Jaxym's sons. After his death the Reverend Illja inherited his water-wheel on the Bilous river; in 1687 Illja sold it to Stepan, Otrox's son.

Illja, Jevfym's son—priest at the church of the Birth of the Most Holy Mother of God at the landmark Novi Mlyny (New Mills), perhaps in Ljubeč, who sold his water-wheel on the Bilous river to Stepan, Otrox's son, in 1687. He was a relative of Hryhorij, Jaxym's son.

Isaja—"an outstanding warrior" (officer without a function) of the Černihiv regiment who was witness to the sale of a water-wheel on the Bilous river by the Reverend Illja, Jevfym's son, to Stepan, Otrox's son, in 1687.

Ivan, Jaxym's son—probably brother of Hryhorij, Jaxym's son. As a relative of the Reverend Illja, Jevfym's son, he was forbidden by the charter of 26 March 1690 to make any claim to the water-wheel on the Bilous river which Illja had sold to Stepan, Otrox's son. Before 14 January 1710, he also sold a hayfield to a *protohiereus* of Černihiv, Mykola Syndarovs'kyj, or his wife, Anastasija (Vas., p. 452).

Ivan, Semen-Moločko's son—a person who, with Fes'ko, Jakym's son, sold Stepan, Otrox's son, some fields in the area of Ljubeč (at Mylkivščyna, etc.) in 1686. One Ivan, Semen's son, was a nephew of Jevfrosynija, widow of the commander of Novhorod-Sivers'kyj, Vasyl' Antonovyč, Afanas's son, in 1718 (Vas., p. 628), but it is unclear whether this was the same person.

Jeroš (Jaroš), Stas' 's son (Stasenko)—a burgher of Ljubeč, witness to the sale of some fields near Ljubeč by Tymiš and Vasylij Šušara to Trofym, Ihnat's son, in 1688; his land bordered on those fields.

Jumatov, Ivan—lieutenant-colonel, who signed copies of the Muscovite charters of 1689–1695 to Jakiv Lyzohub and Stepan, Otrox's son, for the Commission on the Conduct of the General Auditing in Černihiv, on 24 and

27 September 1766. On 1 May 1767, he asked the College of *Malorossija* to appoint Cossack captains to the commission, and his request was honored by Count P. Rumjancev, head of the College (Maks., p. 299).

Kara, Jeftyxij—a Cossack, resident of Ljubeč, witness to the sale of some fields near Ljubeč by Tymiš and Vasylij Šušara to Trofym, Ihnat's son, in 1688.

Koveryč, Semen—town commander of Ljubeč, witness to the sale of some fields near Ljubeč by Tymiš and Vasylij Šušara to Trofym, Ihnat's son, in 1688.

Koz'ma, Jaxym's son—probably a brother of Hryhorij, Jaxym's son. As a relative of the Reverend Illja, Jevfym's son, he was forbidden by the charter of 26 March 1690 to make any claim to the water-wheel on the Bilous river which Illja had sold to Stepan, Otrox's son.

Lyzohub, Jakiv—Kindrat-Kobyza's son, a registered Cossack of the Hlemjaziv company of the Perejaslav regiment in 1649 (Modz. III, p. 96). As a commander of Cossacks under Hetman Ivan Brjuxovec'kyj and of Kalmuks from Muscovy, he defeated the Polish allies of Hetman Petro Teterja near Bila Cerkva in 1665 (Dor. II, p.70), and served as colonel of Kaniv from 1665 (Gaj., p. 610) and as the hetman's envoy to the tsar in January-February 1667, from whom he received confirmation of his noble status on 3 February (Modz. III, pp. 96–97; cf. Laz. Liz., p. 101). He was general aide-de-camp to Hetman Petro Dorošenko from January 1669 and commander of his army in January 1670 and in June and September 1673 (Modz. III, p. 97). His son was then Dorošenko's son-in-law (Laz. Liz., p. 102, 108). From early 1673 he conspired against Dorošenko with Muscovites who offered him the hetmancy of the Right Bank (Laz. Liz., p. 102; Modz. III, p. 97).

On 9 February 1674, Lyzohub betrayed Dorošenko, surrendering Kaniv to the Muscovites and their Ukrainian allies from the Left Bank; he went over to their side, and participated in their campaign against Dorošenko and his capital, Čyhyryn (*Eyew.*, p. 276; Laz. Liz., p. 102; Modz. III, p. 97; Dor. II, pp. 87–88). He did not get the Kaniv colonelship, as he hoped, but merely a proposal to settle on the Left Bank. He occupied empty lands between Sosnivka and Malyj Sambir near Konotop (Laz. Liz., p. 103). In 1676 he participated in the second campaign of the Muscovites and their Left-Bank Ukrainian allies against Dorošenko's Čyhyryn. He lived in Konotop in 1681 and in 1684 (Modz. III, p. 97; Sinai Memorial Book, l. 96r, to be published by the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University). He bought more property near Konotop on 26 November 1681 (Modz. III, p. 97).

In 1686 he took part in the Muscovite–East-Ukrainian campaign against the Crimea and belonged to the "persons of merit in the Host" who denounced Hetman Ivan Samojlovyč; for that new betrayal he was awarded with the colonelship of Černihiv on 23 July 1687 (Dor. II, pp. 99–101). As colonel he tried to deprive Černihiv burghers of their rights, but, at the plea of the chief juror of Černihiv, Stepan, Otrox's son, Hetman Mazepa came to the defense of the burghers with a charter of 1687 (Klym., p. 328).

On 17 August 1687, Lyzohub was given the village of Sosnivka by Hetman Mazepa (Laz. Liz., p. 104; Modz. III, p. 97), perhaps only temporarily. He participated in the new anti-Crimean campaign of Muscovites and Left-Bank Ukrainians in March-June 1689, after which he accompanied Mazepa on a voyage to Moscow (Laz. Liz., p. 105). Before the first of September 1689, he received the village of Slabyn with the adjacent hamlets of Bihač, Solonivka, mills, etc., from the Hetman (Modz. III, p. 97), and then in September 1689 he obtained a charter from tsars Ivan and Peter confirming that grant and adding a forest and a dike on the Bilous river. Lyzohub's continued interference with the rights of Černihiv burghers forced them to seek a protective charter from the same tsars, which they obtained on 26 March 1690 (Vas., pp. 352–62; Klym., p. 328).

In 1694 Lyzohub commanded a plundering raid against Bučak (*Eyew.*, pp. 184, 292). On December 24 of the same year he again obtained from Mazepa the grant of Sosnivka, this time permanently, with its mills, etc. (Modz. III, p. 97), confirmed by the tsars' charter of 23 January 1695. In June-July 1696 he commanded a 15,000 Cossack force in the Muscovite siege and capture of Azak (Oziv) from the Turks (*Eyew.*, pp. 188–90, 294; Lun., pp. 61, 74, 77, 84; Dor. II, p. 111). On 4 January 1697, he purchased more water-wheels on the Snov river (Modz. III, pp. 97–98). He made his testament on 25 May, 1698 and died on 9 August 1698 in Černihiv (Laz. Liz., pp. 105–108; Modz. III, p. 98).

Nikitin, Kondrat—an assistant clerk who proofread the charter of 26 March 1690 for Stepan, Otrox's son, in the Diplomatic Office in Moscow.

Prokofij (Prokip) Andrijanko—Ždan's son (Ždanenko), a miller from the village of Staryj Bilous, who sold a homestead with part of a mill on the Bilous river to Stepan, Otrox's son, in 1689.

Samijlo, Leontij's son—father-in-law of the Reverend Illja, Jevfym's son, witness to his sale of a water-wheel on the Bilous river to Stepan, Otrox's son, in 1687.

Stepan, Otrox's son (Otroxovyč, Troxymenko)—chief juror of Černihiv after 1680 (at which time the chief juror was still Hryhorij, Jaxym's son). His father, Trofym, Ihnat's son, was mayor of Černihiv. In 1686–1689

Stepan finalized the purchase of a number of realties at the city hall of Černihiv, for which he received charters of confirmation from Hetman Mazepa between 1 September 1689 and 26 March 1690, and from the tsars Ivan and Peter on 26 March 1690. He appears as the chief juror of Černihiv on 28 February 1687 (Ljub., p. 246). In the same year he petitioned Hetman Mazepa to defend the rights of Černihiv burghers against Colonel Jakiv Lyzohub and obtained the hetman's charter to that effect (Klym. p. 328). On the same day that he received his personal charter from the tsars (26 March 1690), he also obtained their charter confirming the rights of the city of Černihiv, in response to his complaints against Colonel Lyzohub (Vas., p. 352–62; Klym., p. 328). He must have died sometime before 12 January 1693, because his son-in-law, fellow of the horse-tail banner Antonij Maksymovyč, a resident of the area around the Caves Monastery of Kiev, then obtained Hetman Mazepa's confirmation of lands at the village of Smolihivka bequeathed to him by the late Stepan Otroxovyč (Vas., pp. 54, 481; Laz. Gen., no. 45).

Šušara, Tymofij (Tymiš)—together with his brother Vasylij, this man sold fields near Ljubeč to Trofym, Ihnat's son, in 1688.

Šušara, Vasylij—together with his brother Tymofij, this man sold fields near Ljubeč to Trofym, Ihnat's son, in 1688.

Trofym (Troxym, Otrox)—Ihnat's son (Ihnatovyč), mayor of Černihiv in 1671 (Vas., p. 666). In 1688 he bought fields near Ljubeč from the brothers Šušara which his son, chief juror Stepan, inherited after his death, by 26 March 1690.

Vinius, Andrej Denisovič (1641–1714)—a Muscovite clerk in 1692 (*Op.*, no. 1567), translator from foreign languages (Azb. I, s.v.). He signed the charter for Stepan, Otrox's son, of 26 March 1690, as a clerk of the Diplomatic Office. He was later secretary of the tsar's council (Azb. I, s.v.).

Vnučok (Posudevs'kyj), Sava—Konon's son (Kononovyč), captain of the Ljubeč company in 1656–1657 and 1660–1669, quartermaster of the Černihiv regiment in 1667 (Gaj., pp. 96, 75). The Muscovite charter of 26 March 1690, shows that Vnučok was the captain of Ljubeč again in 1688.

Voznicyn, Prokofij (Prokopij) Bogdanov(ič)—a Muscovite assistant clerk in 1680 (*Op.*, nos. 603 and 629). He entered his name in the Sinai Memorial Book as a clerk between 1683 and 1685. He was still one in September 1689, when he signed the tsars' charter for Jakiv Lyzohub. He became secretary of the tsar's council in the Diplomatic Office from 1690 (Azb. I, s.v.).

Places

This list does not give dikes, mills, ferries, fields, field borders, and landmarks separately; they are mentioned within the relevant entries. Moscow, Černihiv, and the Dnieper are not listed as entries, nor are the geographical elements of the tsars' titles. No river ''Duča'' is introduced, because *мелницы... на рекѣ дючей* in the charter of September 1690 is an error; cf. the correct rendering of the same phrase later: *мелницы... на рекѣ Бюдючеи* 'a mill situated on a river.'

Andrijivka—a hamlet subordinate to Slabyn, granted by Hetman Mazepa to Jakiv Lyzohub in 1689. Today it is a separate village northwest of Slabyn. A dike called the Carivka (on the Carivka River) near Andrijivka is mentioned in the charter for Jakiv Lyzohub of 1695. Lyzohub's grandson, Vasyl', had a mill there in 1742 (Laz. Spis., p. 136).

Bihač—a village northeast of Černihiv in the territory of the Sedniv company that was granted to Jakiv Lyzohub by Hetman Mazepa in 1689. His grandson, Jakiv Lyzohub, still owned it in 1729/30 (Laz. Gen., no. 48).

Bilous—a right tributary to the Desna, southwest of Černihiv. Jakiv Lyzohub built mills at the mouth of this river in 1689.

Bilous—a serf-free hamlet (*sloboda*) near a water-wheel on the Bilous river, sold by the Reverend Illja, Jevfym's son, to Stepan, Otrox's son, in 1687.

Černihiv company—part of the Černihiv regiment. Jakiv Lyzohub was granted estates there in 1689.

Desna—a left tributary to the Dnieper. Lyzohub had a ferry crossing on it near the village of Slabyn.

Dyrčyn—a village on the Snov river belonging to the Sedniv company. The charters of 1689 and 1695 to Lyzohub mention his dike at Dyrčyn on the Snov, called Poletyka's Dike, apparently after its former owners, who were captains of the Sedniv company (Vasyl' Poletyka, ca. 1670, or Ivan Poletyka, 1677; Gaj., p. 106), and refer to his mill on that dike. The dike already existed in 1687 when Hetman Mazepa granted it to Lyzohub's business partner there, Vasylij Dunyn-Borkovs'kyj. But the location is described as being ''on the Smjač river,'' a right tributary to the Snov (Vas., p. 430); perhaps it was at the mouth of the Smjač into the Snov. The Poletykas' former ownership of property along the Smjač is indicated by the fact that there is a village called Poletyčyns'ka Rudnja on that river.

Hnyluša—a hamlet subordinate to Slabyn that was granted by Hetman Mazepa to Jakiv Lyzohub in 1689.

Kiev palatinate—its eastern border was established as a boundary between the Polish crown and the Hetmanate in 1667 and reestablished in 1686 along the Dnieper (retreating from it in Kyjiv and environs to the west). The entry in the Černihiv city records of 1686 referred to the period before 1646 when the Ljubeč area belonged to the Kiev palatinate. (In 1646 it was transferred to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and in 1686 finally to the Hetmanate). The boundary between the Kiev and Černihiv palatinates ran roughly half-way between Černihiv and Ljubeč. Apparently, although the boundary lost any political meaning in 1646, it was still remembered by the local people in 1686.

Konotop company—a subdivision of the Nižen regiment. Jakiv Lyzohub owned estates near Konotop.

Kosorohy—a hamlet subordinate to Slabyn that was granted by Hetman Mazepa to Jakiv Lyzohub in 1689. Now the separate village of Kozerohy, southwest of Slabyn.

Ljubeč—a town in the Ljubeč company. It was the site of the church of the Birth of the Most Holy Mother of God (Laz. Gen., no. 45), perhaps the same church as that described as being situated at the landmark Novi Mlyny (New Mills) in the charter of 26 March 1690. The charter also mentions such places in the area of Ljubeč as Lord's Fields (*polja Pans'ki*), Ladunka's Field (*pole Ladunkove*), the border of Jaroš's field (i.e., of the Ljubeč burgher Jaroš/Jeroš, Stas' 's son), and a burial mound.

Muravlja—a river in the Ljubeč company, where Jakiv Lyzohub had a mill in 1695. His grandson, Ivan, had three mills on the same river near the village of Semaky in 1745 (Laz. Spis., p. 121).

Mylkivščyna—a village in the Kyjiv palatinate until 1646. From 1646 to 1686 it was located in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (intermittently), and from 1686, in the Ljubeč company of the Černihiv regiment. During one of the times when the area was ruled by Ukrainian hetmans and not by Lithuanians, in 1658, Hetman Ivan Vyhovs'kyj gave the village to Ivan Stec'kyj (Vas., pp. 480–81). In 1686 Fes'ko, Jakym's son, and Ivan Semen-Moločko's son, sold half of Lavrin's share in the village (fields, meadows, homesteads, trees with beehives, etc.) to Stepan, Otrox's son.

Nosovi Mlyny—a village in the Sedniv company. In 1689 Jakiv Lyzohub got a grant for a mill at the mouth of the Smjač to the Snov "below Nis' mills." From 1677 to 1715, the village was apparently still just a group of mills, perhaps belonging to Ivan Nis, an officer of the Pryluky regiment

(Gaj., pp. 252–57, 662). In 1729–30, the village was owned by the Trinity Monastery of Černihiv (Vas., pp. 78, 193).

Novi Mlyny—a village in the Sedniv company. In 1694–1695 Hetman Mazepa gave Jakiv Lyzohub the rights to a one-grindstone mill called Djahoc's Mill (perhaps after a former owner), alongside the dike called Novi Mlyny, on the Snov River.

Peresaža—a hamlet in the Ljubeč company granted to Jakiv Lyzohub by Hetman Mazepa in 1694/95. Lyzohub's grandson, Semen, still owned it in 1729/31 (Vas., pp. 51–52; Laz. Èkstr.).

Rohizka—a river, probably in the Konotop company, on which Jakiv Lyzohub got the right, in 1694/95, to own an estate with a mill, together with about ten villagers enjoying temporary freedom from obligations (*slobožany*) and with servants.

Sedniv company—part of the Černihiv regiment, in which Jakiv Lyzohub got estates from Hetman Mazepa in 1686.

Semaky—a hamlet in the Ljubeč company, granted to Jakiv Lyzohub by Hetman Mazepa in 1694/95. His grandson, Semen, still owned it in 1729/31 (Vas., pp. 51-52; Laz. Èkstr.).

Slabyn—a village southwest of Černihiv. It was said to be in the Černihiv company (*uezd*) by the charter of September 1689 granting it to Jakiv Lyzohub, although it was actually the center of a separate company. Before 1689 the village was owned by the local captains (Laz. Gen., no. 36). No information is available about captains of the Slabyn company between 1677 and 1694 (Gaj., p. 109), so perhaps Lyzohub temporarily took charge over the whole company personally, so as to increase his possessions. He owned a mill near Slabyn, five subordinate hamlets (Šestovycja, Zolotynky, Kosorohy, Andrijivka, and Hnyluša) and a ferry crossing on the nearby Desna River. In one instance in the charter of 1695 to Jakiv Lyzohub, the name of the village was distorted to "Slobodyn." Slabyn was still owned by Lyzohub's grandson, Semen, in 1729–30 (Laz. Gen., no. 36).

Smalyhivka—a river in the area of Ljubeč along which Stepan, Otrox's son, bought land in 1686. He also established a village Smolyhivka on that river which was owned by his descendants in 1729–30 (Laz. Gen., no. 45; Vas., p. 54).

Snov—a right tributary of the Desna River. Jakiv Lyzohub had a dike and a mill at the juncture of the Smjač River with the Snov.

Solonivka—a village northwest of Horodnja, in the Horodnja company, granted to Jakiv Lyzohub by Hetman Mazepa in 1689. In his testament of 1698 Jakiv Lyzohub willed it to his daughter Marija and her husband, Stepan Butovyč, captain of Sedniv. It was in the hands of the Butovyčes in 1729–30 (Laz. Liz., p. 106; Laz. Gen., no. 51).

Sosnivka—a village southwest of Konotop, in the Konotop company, first granted to Jakiv Lyzohub on 17 August 1687 (Laz. Liz., p. 104), apparently temporarily, and then again in 1694–95 by Hetman Mazepa.

Staryj Bilous—a village west of Černihiv, in the Bilous company. In 1689 Prokop Andrijanko, Ždan's son, from Staryj Bilous, miller at Jaxym's mill on the Bilous River, sold half of the mill to Stepan, Otrox's son.

Šestovycja—a hamlet southwest of Černihiv, subordinate to Slabyn, in the Slabyn company. In 1689 it was granted to Jakiv Lyzohub by Hetman Mazepa. It was owned by his grandson, Semen, in 1729–30 (Laz. Gen., no. 36).

Zolotynka—a river in the Slabyn company, on which Hetman Mazepa granted Jakiv Lyzohub a mill in 1694–95.

Zolotynky—a hamlet subordinate to Slabyn, in the Slabyn company, granted to Jakiv Lyzohub by Hetman Mazepa in 1689. In 1729–30, the same village, renamed *Zolotynka*, belonged to Lyzohub's grandson, Semen (Laz. Gen., no. 36).

Ždan's settlement (*Ždanivs'ke selyšče*)—apparently founded by Ždan, the father of Prokip Andrijanko from Staryj Bilous (in the Bilous company), miller at Jaxym's mill on the Bilous river, who sold half of it to Stepan, Otrox's son, in 1689.

Bohdan A. Struminsky
Harvard University

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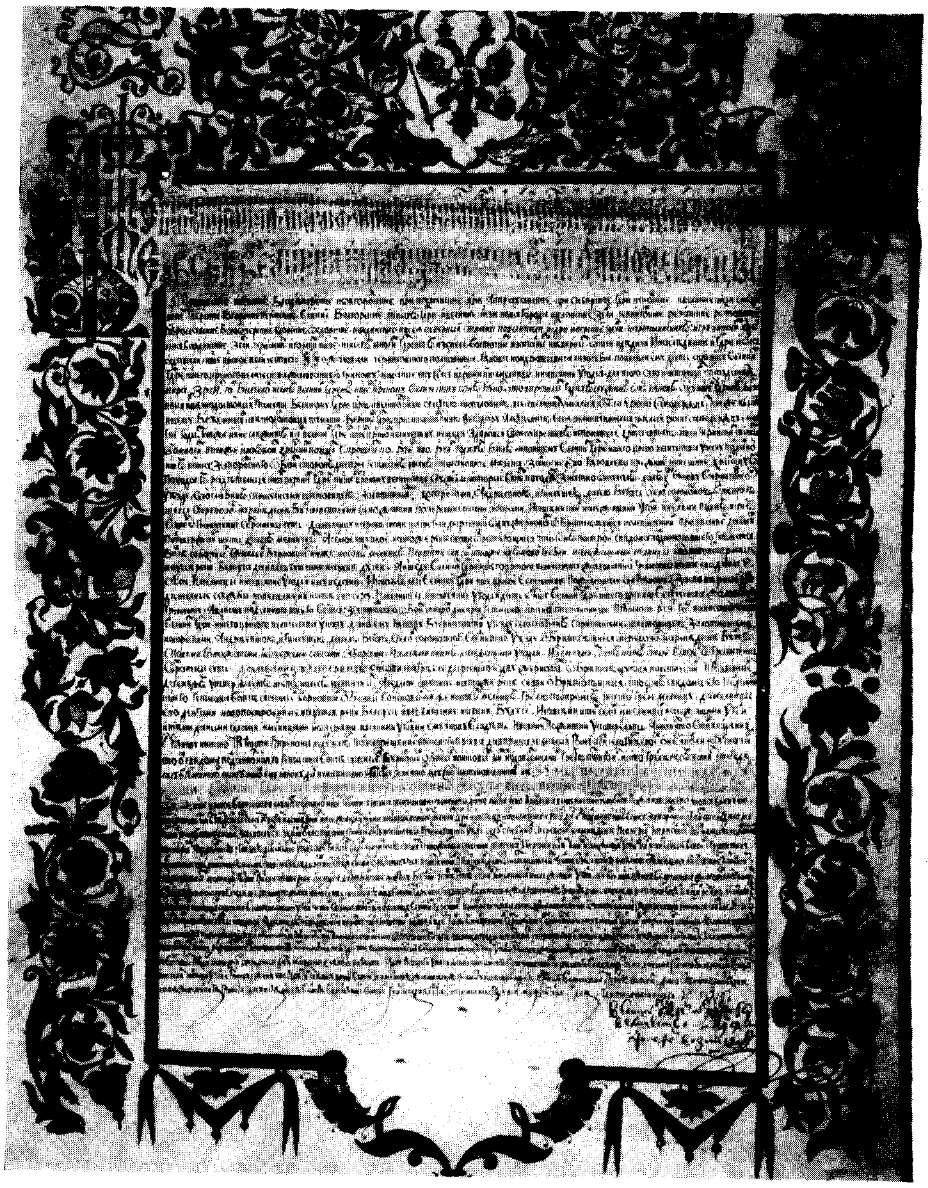
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A Map of Some of the Places
Discussed in the Documents of 1689–1695

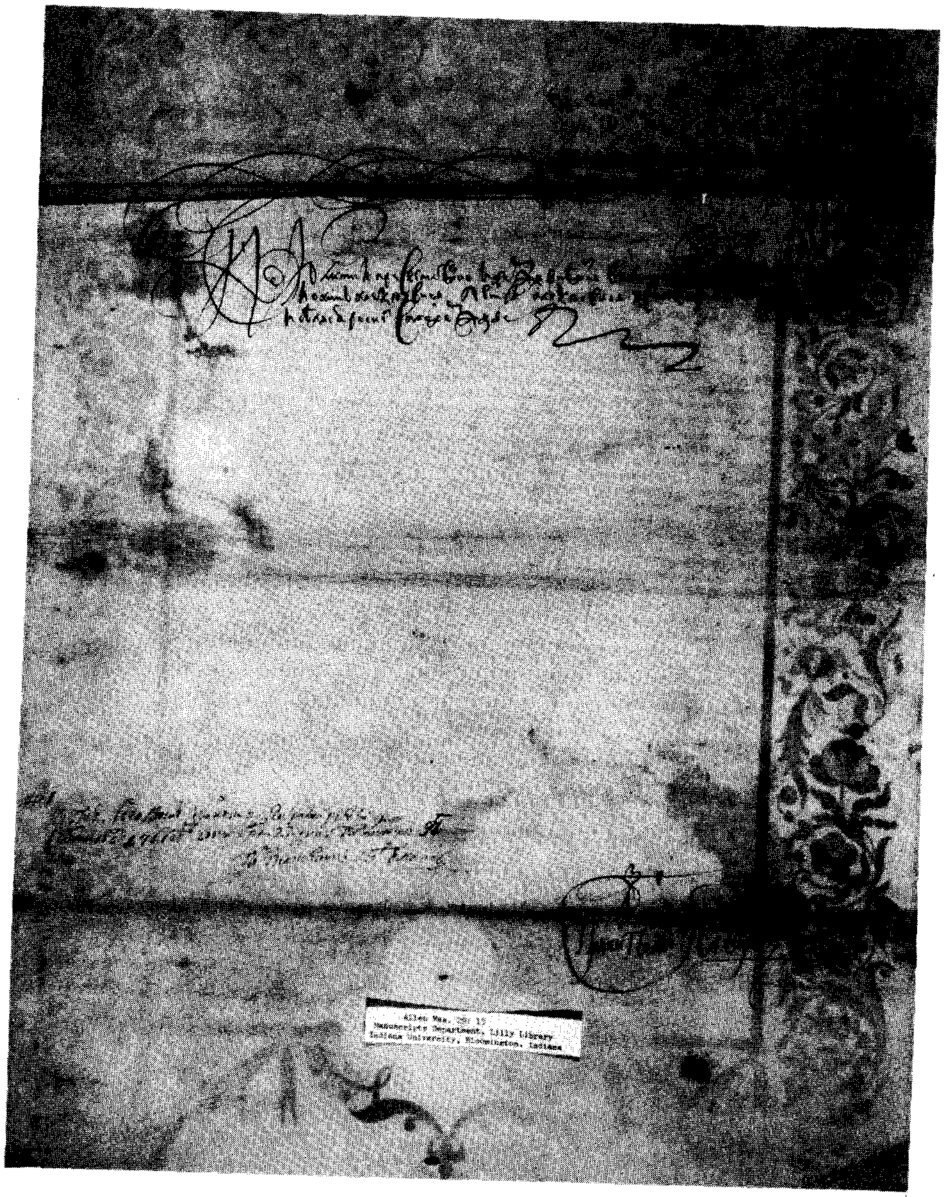
(Centers of regiments and companies are underlined.)



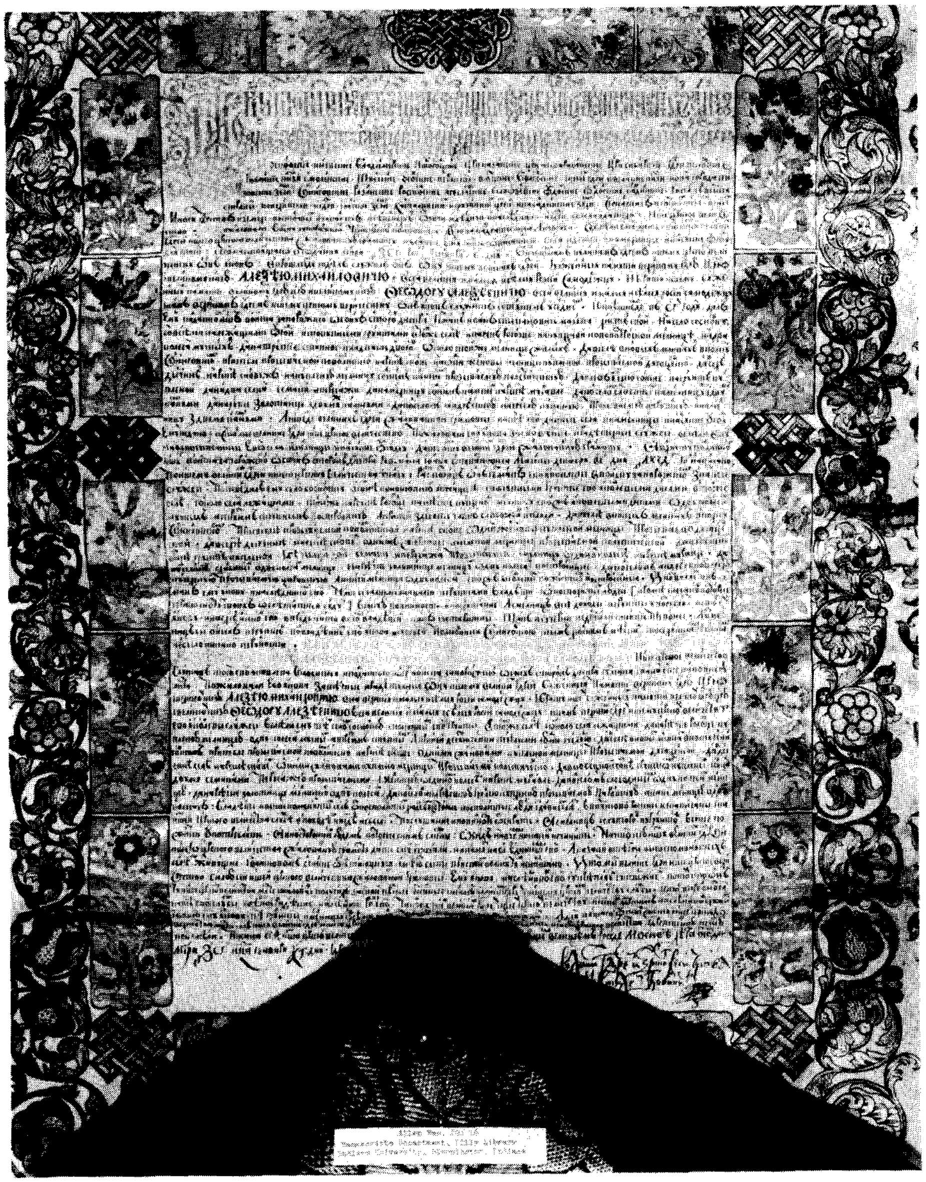
Charter 1



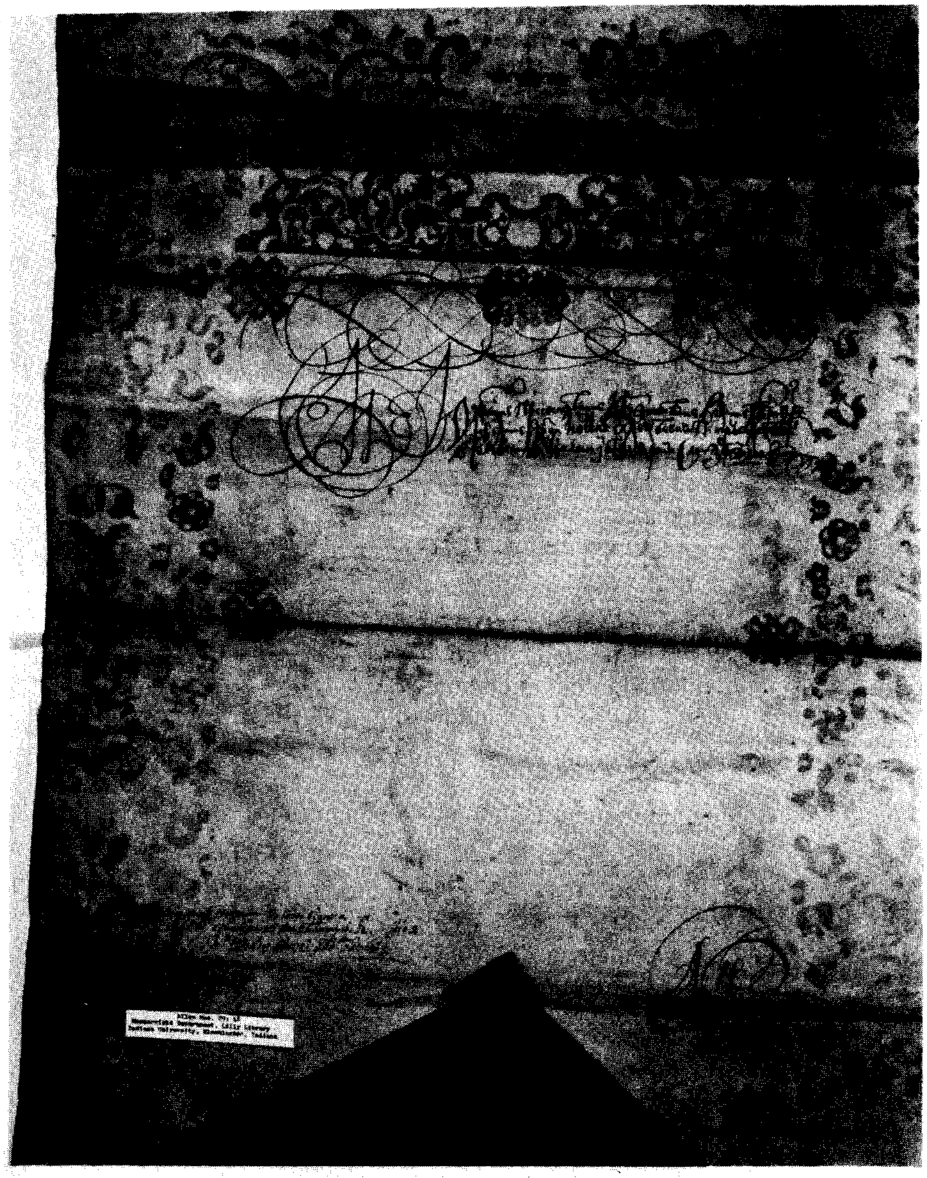
Charter 1 — *reverse*



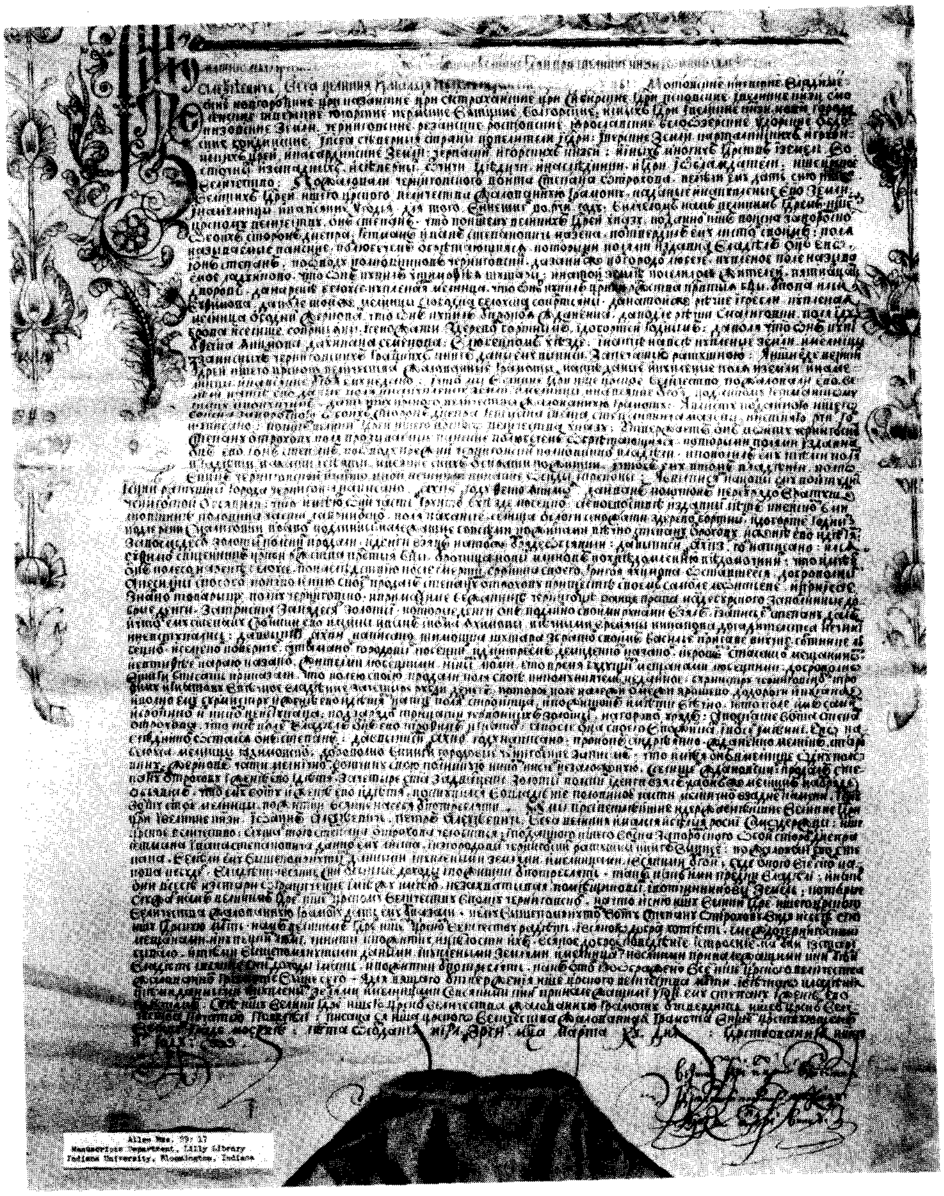
Charter 2



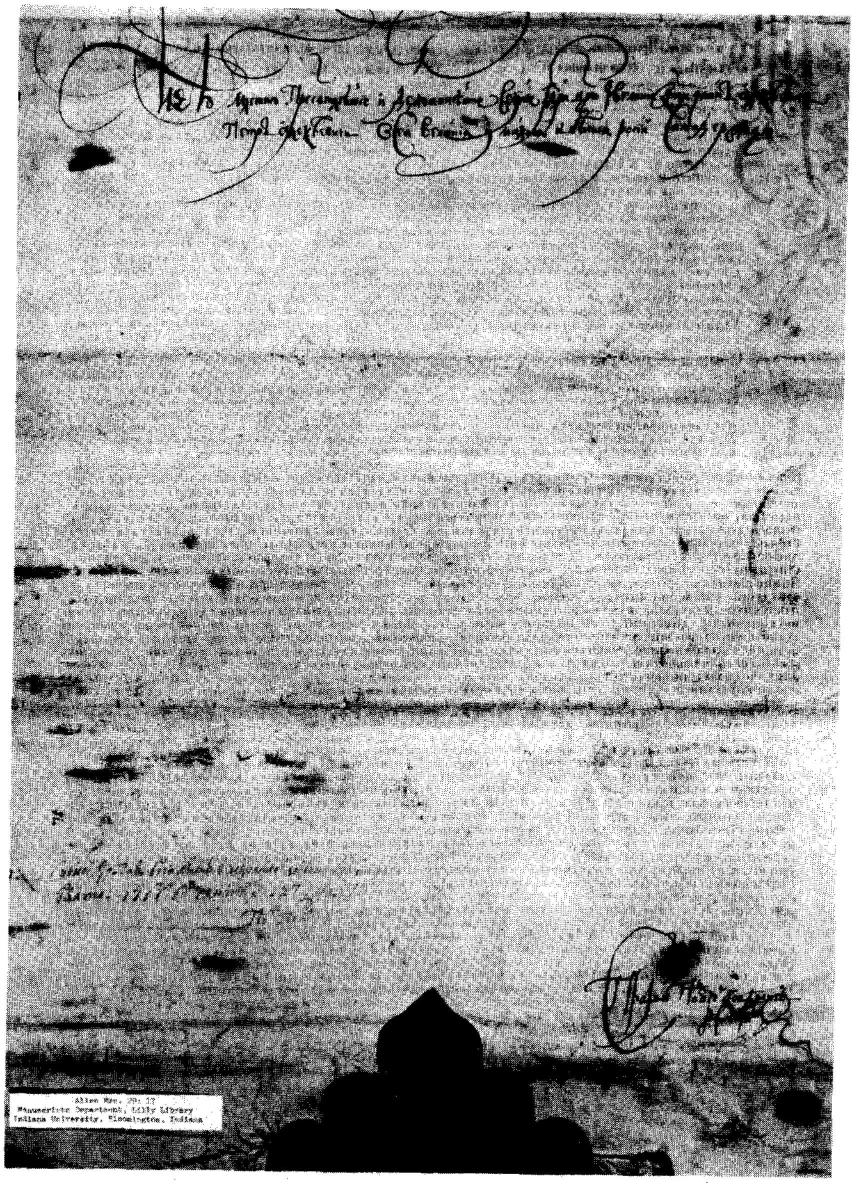
Charter 2 — *reverse*



Charter 3


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Manuscripts Department, Lilly Library
Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana

Charter 3 — *reverse*



APPENDIX

Charter 1

Allen MS 29:15
Dated September 1689

Co-tsars Ivan and Pëtr Alekseeviči grant certain properties to Colonel of Černihiv Jakiv K. Lyzohub.

Божиею милостию мы, пресветлѣйшие и державнѣйшие великие государи и цари и великие князи Иоаннъ Алеѯѣевичь и Петръ Алеѯѣевичь всеа Великия и Малыя и Бѣлыя России самодержцы Московские, Киевские, Владимерские, Новгородцкие, цари Казанские, цари Астраханские, цари Сибирские, государи Псковские и великие князи Смоленские, Тверские, Югорские, Пермские, Вяцкие, Болгорские и иныхъ государи и великие князи Нова Города Низовские земли, Черниговские, Резанские, Ростовские, Ярославские, Белоозерские, Удорские, Обдроские, Кондинские и всеа сѣверныя страны повелители и государи Иверские земли, Карталинскихъ и Грузинских[ъ] царей и Кабардинские земли, Черкаских[ъ] и Горских[ъ] князей и иныхъ многих[ъ] государствъ и земель восточных[ъ], и западных[ъ], и сѣверных[ъ] отчичи и дѣдичи, и наслѣдники, и государи, и обладатели, наше царское величество пожаловали черниговского полковника Якова Кондратьевича Лизогуба, повелѣли ему дать сию нашу великих[ъ] государей нашего царского величества жалованную грамоту на даные ему села и деревни, и на мелницы, и на всякие угодья. Для того сего настоящего от[ъ] создания мира 7198го [1689] году бил[ъ] челом[ъ] намъ великим[ъ] государемъ, нашему царскому величеству онъ, Яков[ъ], что в[ъ] прошлых[ъ] годѣхъ служилъ онъ, Яковъ, отцу нашему государскому, блаженныя и вѣчнодостойныя памяти великому государю царю и великому князю Алеѯѣю Михаиловичю всеа Великия и Малыя и Бѣлыя Росии самодержцу, также и брату нашему, блаженныя же и вѣчнодостойныя памяти великому государю царю и великому князю Феодору Алеѯѣевичю всеа Великия и Малыя и Бѣлыя Росии самодержцу, многие годы. Также и ныне служитъ нам[ъ], великим[ъ] государем[ъ], нашему царскому величеству, не щедя здоровья своего противъ неприятелей Креста Святаго и в[ъ] Читиринских[ъ] и в[ъ] иных[ъ] во многих[ъ], также и во обойх[ъ] Крымских[ъ] походех[ъ] в[ъ] прошлых[ъ], во 195м и во 197 годѣхъ, былъ. И по нашему великих[ъ] государей нашего царского величества указу подданной нашъ, войска Запорожского обойх[ъ] сторонъ Днепра гетманъ Иванъ Степановичь Мазепа, за многие ево, Яковлевы, прежние и нынешние Крымскихъ походовъ радѣтельныя к[ъ] нам[ъ] великим[ъ] государем[ъ] и нашему царскому величеству службы, которые в[ъ] тѣх[ъ] походѣх[ъ] знатно оказалъ, далъ ему, Якову, в[ъ] Черниговском[ъ] уѣзде село Слабинъ с[ъ] приселками Шестовицею, Золотинским[ъ], Косорогами, Андрѣевкою и Гнилушею, да село Бегачь с[ъ] селом[ъ] Солоновкою, обрѣтающееся с[ъ] перевозом[ъ] на рекѣ Деснѣ, будучаго с[ъ] полями, с[ъ] сеножатми и озерами, с[ъ] лесами, з[ъ] борами и со всѣми к[ъ] ним[ъ]

належащими угод[ь]и и землями такъ, какъ в[ъ] своем[ъ] ограничений сохранены суть, да мелницу на рекѣ Снови на гребли Дырченской о дву жерновах[ъ] обретающуюся Полетиченским[ъ] прозванием[ъ]. Да ему же подтвержает[ъ] шесть колесъ мелничных[ъ], а седмое ступное, на той же рекѣ Снови обретающиися, что онъ посториил[ъ] с[ъ] вѣдома подданного нашего гетмана во Вобчѣ с[ъ] обозным[ъ], с[ъ] Васильем[ъ] Бурковским[ъ], ниже Носовых[ъ] мелницъ плотину с[ъ] лѣсом[ъ], к[ъ] той же их[ъ] новой гребли належащими, мелницы ево новопостроеные на устьѣ реки Белоуса, да и в[ъ] Любетчине на рекѣ Дучей. А нашей де великих[ъ] государей нашего царского величества жалованной грамоты на тѣ ево даные сѣла и мелницы и на всякие угодья ему не дано. И чтобъ мы великие государи наше царское величество пожаловали ево, Якова, за ево вѣрные и радѣтельные службы, повелѣли ему на тѣ ево села и мелницы и на всякие угодья дть ему нашу великих[ъ] государей и нашего царского величества жалованную грамоту. А в[ъ] листу подданного нашего воиска Запорожского обоих[ъ] сторон[ъ] Днепра гетмана Ивана Степановича, прошлого 197го году, написано: по нашему великих[ъ] государей нашего царского величества указу дано ему, Якову, в[ъ] Черниговском[ъ] уѣзде село Слабинъ с[ъ] приселками Шестовицею, Золотинками, Косорогами, Андрѣевскою и Гнилушею, да село Бегачь с[ъ] селом[ъ] Солоновкою, в[ъ] Седневском[ъ] уѣзде обрѣтающиеся, с[ъ] перевозом[ъ] на рекѣ Деснѣ будучего, с[ъ] полями, с[ъ] сеножатми и озерами, с[ъ] лесами, з[ъ] борами и со всѣми к[ъ] нимъ належащими угодьи и з[ъ] землями такъ, какъ оные в[ъ] своемъ ограничении сохранены суть; да мелницу на рекѣ Снови, на грѣбле Дырченской, о дву жерновах[ъ], обрѣтающуюся Полетиченским[ъ] прозванием[ъ]. Да ему жъ утвержаетъ шесть колесъ мелничных[ъ], а седмое ступное на той же рекѣ Снови обрѣтающиися, что онъ с[ъ] вѣдома его, подданного нашего гетмана, во прѣ с[ъ] Васильем[ъ] Борковским[ъ], обозным[ъ] воисковым[ъ], ниже Носовых[ъ] мелницъ греблю построилъ и на той гребле мелницу, да мелницы, ево денгами новопостроенные, на устьѣ реки Белоуса и в[ъ] Любитчине, на рекѣ Будучей, и со всѣми к[ъ] тем[ъ] селам[ъ] и мелницам[ъ] належащими угод[ь]и. И тѣми даными селами и мелницами, и озерами, и всякими угод[ъ]ями ему, Якову, владѣть и всякие пожитки употреблять. А иной нихто в[ъ] том[ъ] владѣнии ему, Якову, никакой трудности ни препоны не дерзают[ъ], под[ъ] запрещением[ъ] войскового права. Да в[ъ] приказе Малыя Росии, при челобит[ь]е своем[ъ], онъ, Яков[ъ] Лизогуб[ъ], сказал[ъ], что он[ъ] с[ъ] вѣдома подданного нашего гетмана во прѣ с[ъ] Васильем[ъ] Бурковским[ъ], обозным[ъ] воинсковым[ъ], ниже Носовых[ъ] мелницъ греблю построилъ и к[ъ] той греблѣ лѣсъ занял[ъ], и того де лѣсу в[ъ] гетманском[ъ] листу, каков[ъ] ему, Якову, дан[ъ], не написано. А в[ъ] том[ъ] де занятом[ъ] лесу спору никакова ни с[ъ] кѣм[ъ] нѣт[ъ].

И мы пресветлѣйшие и державнѣйшие великие государи цари и великие князи Иоаннъ Алеѯѣевичь, Петръ Алеѯѣвичь всеа Великия и Малыя и Бѣлыя Росии самодержцы наше царское величество слушав[ъ] подданного нашего гетмана Ївана Степановича Мазепы даного листа и ево, Яковлева, вышеписанного челобитя, пожаловали ево, Якова, и жену ево и детей, повелѣли имъ тѣми данными селами и озерами и всякими к[ъ] ним[ъ] належащими угод[ь]ями, которые, по

нашему великих[ъ] царей, нашего царского величества указу, дал[ъ] ему подданной нашъ войска Запорожского обоих[ъ] сторон[ъ] Днепра гетман[ъ] Иванъ Степанович[ъ] за ево службу и в[ъ] данном[ъ] ево, подданного нашего, листу написаны, в[ъ] Черниговском[ъ] уѣзде селом[ъ] Слабином[ъ] с[ъ] перевозом[ъ] на рекѣ Деснѣ и с[ъ] озерами и с[ъ] приселками Шестовицею, Золотинками, Косогорами, Андрѣевскою и Гнилушею да в[ъ] Седневском[ъ] уѣзде селом[ъ] Бегачем[ъ] с[ъ] селом[ъ] Солоновкою с[ъ] полями, с[ъ] сеножат[ь]ми, с[ъ] селами и с[ъ] пасеками, з[ъ] борами са [сиц] всѣми к[ъ] ним[ъ] належащими угод[ь]и так[ъ], какъ оные в[ъ] своем[ъ] ограничении сохранены суть, да мелницею на рекѣ Снови на грѣблѣ Дырчевской о двух[ъ] жерновах[ъ] обрѣтающуюся Полетиче[н]ским[ъ] прозвани[е]м[ъ], да шесть колес[ъ] мелничных[ъ], а седмое ступное, на той же рекѣ Снови обрѣтающися, что он[ъ] с[ъ] Василем[ъ] с[ъ] Бурковским[ъ] ниже Носовых[ъ] мелницъ построил[ъ] гребли на устье реки Белоуса, да в[ъ] Любитчине на рекѣ Будучей и со всѣми к[ъ] тѣм[ъ] селам[ъ] и мелницам[ъ] належащими угод[ь]и, как[ъ] в[ъ] сей нашей царского величества жалованной грамоте в[ъ]лице сего написано владѣть и всякие пожитки употреблять, на что и сю нашу великих[ъ] государей нашего царского величества жалованную грамоту дать повелѣли, на память впрѣд[ь] будущим[ъ] роду ево и быти тѣм[ъ] даным[ъ] селам[ъ] и мелницам[ъ] со всѣми высшеписанными угод[ь]и за ним[ъ] в[ъ] вотчине, потому что он[ъ] ту нашу великих[ъ] государей нашего царского величества милость и жаловане получил[ъ] он[ъ] за свои вѣрные и радѣтельныя и знатныя службы. И чтоб[ъ] впредь смотря, нам[ъ] ево службы и вѣрное радѣние дѣти ево и внучата и правнучата, и кто по нем[ъ] роду ево будет[ъ] также нам[ъ] великим[ъ] государем[ъ] и нашему царскому величеству и нашим[ъ] государским[ъ] наслѣдником[ъ] служили, и вышеимянованному Якову Лизогубу и женѣ ево и дѣтям[ъ] и внучатом[ъ] и правнучатом[ъ] тѣми вышеимянованными вотчинами владѣть и всякие доходы имать, как[ъ] изображено в[ъ] сей нашей царского величества жалованной грамоте, будь в[ъ] занятом[ъ] ево лесу, которого в[ъ] листу подданного нашего не написано, и спору и челобитя не будет[ъ] и тѣ высшеупомянутые вотчины с[ъ] подлежащими при них[ъ] угод[ь]и ему, Якову, и женѣ ево и дѣтям[ъ] и внучатом[ъ] и правнучатомъ и в[ъ] роды их[ъ] неподвижно. И волно им[ъ] тѣ вотчины продать и заложить и в[ъ] приданые дать и во всякие крепости укрепить. А для вящего утвержения нашего царского величества и вѣчного владѣния тѣми даными селами и куплеными мелницами и с[ъ] озерами, со всѣми угод[ь]и ему, Якову, и женѣ ево и дѣтям[ъ] сеѣ нашу царского величества милостивую жалованную грамоту утвердит[ь] нашего царского величества печат[ь]ю повелѣли. Дана сия наша царского величества жалованная грамота государствия нашего во дворѣ, в царствующем[ъ] велицем[ъ] градѣ Москвѣ, лѣта от[ъ] создания мира 7198м [1689], месяца сентября [—]г дня государствования нашего 8го году

Великих[ъ] государей их[ъ]
царского величества диакъ
Прокофей Возницынъ

Нашею милостию пресветлѣйшие и державнѣйшие великие государи цари и великие князи Иоаннъ Алеѯѣевичь, Петр Алеѯѣевичь всеа Великия и Малыя и Бѣлыя России самодержцы

Справил Иван Бирин

Копия въ комиссию сочинения генеральной ревизией взята в[ъ] Черниговѣ въ 1766 году, сентября 27 дня, подъ литерой А.

Подполковникъ Иванъ Юматовъ

Charter 2

Allen MS 29:16
Dated January 1695

Co-tsars Ivan and Pëtr Alekseeviči make an additional grant to Colonel Jakiv K. Lyzohub, in recognition of further services.

Божиею милостию мы пресветлѣйшие и державнѣйшие великие государи и цари и великие князи Иоаннъ Алеѯѣевичь и Петръ Алеѯѣевичь всеа Великия и Малыя и Белыя России самодержцы Московские, Киевские, Владимерские, Новгородцкие, цари Казанские, цари Астараханские, цари Сибирские, государи Псковские и великие князи Смоленские, Тверские, Угорские, Пермские, Вятцкие, Болгорские и иных[ъ] государи и великие князи Нова Города Низовские земли, Черниговские, Рязанские, Ростовские, Ярославские, Белоозерские, Удорские, Обдорские, Кондинские и всеа сѣверныя страны повелители и государи Иверские земли, Карталинских[ъ] и Грузинских[ъ] царей и Кабардинские земли, Черкаскихъ и Горских[ъ] князех[ъ] и иных[ъ] многих[ъ] государствъ и земель восточных[ъ] и западныхъ и сѣверныхъ отчичи и дѣдичи и наслѣдники и государи и обладатели, наше царское величество пожаловали воиска Запорожского Черниговского полковника Якова Кондратьевича Лизогуба, велѣли ему дать сию нашу великих[ъ] государей нашего царского величества жалованную грамоту на даные ему нижеописанные села и деревни и на мелницы и на всякие угод[ь]я. Для того, сего настоящаго от[ъ] создания мира 7203-го [1695] году, генваря 5-го дня, бил[ъ] челомъ намъ великимъ государемъ нашему царскому величеству онъ, Яковъ.

В[ъ] прошлых[ъ] де годѣхъ служилъ онъ отцу нашему, великихъ государей, блаженныя памяти великому государю царю и великому князю Алеѯѣю Михаиловичю всеа Великия и Малыя и Бѣлыя Росии самодержцу и брату нашему, блаженныя же памяти великому государю царю и великому князю Феодору Алеѯѣевичю всеа Великия и Малыя и Бѣлыя Росии самодержцу. И намъ великимъ государемъ, нашему царскому величеству онъ, Яковъ, служитъ со всякимъ усердием[ъ] и в[ъ] нынѣшнем[ъ] де в[ъ] 203-м году. Далъ ему подданной нашъ воиска Зпорожского обоихъ сторон[ъ] Днепра гетманъ Иванъ Степановичь Мазепа листъ свой на село Сосновку со всѣми належащими угод[ь]и и с[ъ] покупными грунтами в[ъ] том[ъ] же селѣ, и на рекѣ Рогозце накупленой

новопостроеной мелницѣ на два колеса мучныхъ, да на третие ступное и на десять дворов[ъ], около той же мелницы, жилыхъ, да в[ъ] селѣ в[ъ] Новыхъ Млинахъ, в[ъ] полку Черниговском[ъ] при гребле, прозываемой Новомлинской, на рекѣ Снове на одни жерновы мелницы купленой, прозываемой Дягоцевской, да в[ъ] селѣ Дырчинѣ, на рекѣ Снове жъ, на купленую мелницу с[ъ] однимъ каменем[ъ], прозываемую Полетиченскую, да в[ъ] Любецкой сотне на грунтъ купленой, да на два селца Семаки и Пересажи, да на мелницу с[ъ] однимъ каменем[ъ] на рекѣ Муравле, да под[ъ] селом[ъ] Слабиным[ъ] на мелницу же з[ъ] двумя камнями, да на речке Золотинце з[ъ] двумя же камнями, да под[ъ] селомъ Андрѣевкою на греблю купленую, прозываемую Царовскую, и на мелницу з[ъ] двемя камнями. А нашей де великихъ государей жалованной грамоты на тѣ ево данные села и на мелницы и на всякие угод[ь]я ему не дано. И чтоб[ъ] мы великие государи наше царское величество пожаловали ево, Якова, за ево вѣрные и радѣтельные службы, велѣли ему на вышеписанные ево села и мелницы и на всякие угодья дать нашу великих[ъ] государей жалованную грамоту.

А в[ъ] листу подданного нашего воиска Запорожского обоихъ сторонъ Днепра гетмана Ивана Степановича Мазепы, декабря 12-го дня 1694-го году, написано: по нашему великих[ъ] государей нашего царского величества указу, разсмотривъ онъ, гетманъ, ево, Яковлевы, в[ъ] воиску Запорожском[ъ] знатные службы, подтвердилъ ему село Сосновку, в[ъ] сотнѣ Конотопской лежащеѣ, с[ъ] покупными грунты ево, Яковлевыми, денгами, в[ъ] том[ъ] же селѣ и около села лежащими; также на речкѣ Рогозце, на мѣсте купленом[ъ], мелницу ево жъ, Яковлевыми, денгами, о дву колесах[ъ] мучных[ъ], а третимъ ступнымъ построенную, а при ней з[ъ] десять человѣк[ъ] слобожан[ъ] и челяди; да в[ъ] селѣ в[ъ] Новихъ Млинахъ, въ полку Черниговском, при греблѣ, прозываемой Новомлинской, на рекѣ Снове одни жерновы купленой мелницы, прозываемой Дягоцевской, да в[ъ] селѣ Дырчинѣ на рекѣ Снове жъ одни жерновы купленой мелницы, прозываемой Полетиченской, да в[ъ] Любецкой сотнѣ грунтъ купленой, гдѣ и селца два, Семаки и Пересажа прозываемые, и мелницу о едином[ъ] колесѣ на рекѣ Муравле, да под[ъ] селом[ъ] Слабиным[ъ] о дву коле[с]ах[ъ] мелницу, на рѣчке Золотинце мелницу ж[ъ] о дву колесах[ъ] построенные, да под[ъ] селом[ъ] Андрѣевкою греблю купленую, прозываемую Царовскую, а на ней мелница о дву колесах[ъ] ево жъ, Яковлевым[ъ], пожитком[ъ] построенные. И позволяет[ъ] онъ, гетманъ, ему, Якову, и наслѣдником[ъ] ево тѣми селами, мелницами и грунтами владѣти и от[ъ] посполитых[ъ] людей [кромъ казаков[ъ], которые при волностях[ъ] своихъ обрѣтатися будут[ъ] всякую повинность и послушание, а съ мелницъ всѣ доходы и грунты употреблять. И чтоб[ъ] ему Якову и наслѣдѣником[ъ] ево впредь нихто в[ъ] том[ъ] владѣнии, какъ из[ъ] старшины, такъ и из[ъ] черни, не дерзали чинить препоны. А от[ъ] мелницъ быоныхъ и грунтов[ъ] под[ъ] владѣнием[ъ] ево Якова Лизогуба, полковника Черниговского, инымъ людскимъ и мѣским[ъ] и поселянским[ъ] грунтам[ъ] не было никакой трудности.

И мы пресветлѣйшие и державнѣйшие великие государи и великие князи Иоаннъ Алеѯѣевичь, Петръ Алеѯѣевичь всеа Великия и Малыя и Бѣлыя Росии самодержцы, наше царское величество, слушавъ того ево, Яковлева, челобитья и

подданного нашего войска Запорожского обоихъ сторонъ Днепра гетмана Ивана Степановича листа, пожаловали ево, Якова, за вѣрные и радѣтелные отцу нашему великих[ъ] государей, блаженныя памяти великому государю царю и великому князю Алеѯѣю Михаиловичю всеа Великия и Малыя и Бѣлыя Росии самодержцу и брату нашему, блаженныя ж[ъ] памяти великому государю царю и великому князю Феодору Алеѯѣвичу всеа Великия и Малыя и Бѣлыя Росии самодержцу, и нам[ъ] великим[ъ] государем[ъ] нашему царскому величеству ево, Яковлевы, службы, велѣли ему тѣм[ъ] селом[ъ] Сосновкой с покупными ево грунты в[ъ] том[ъ] же селѣ и около села лежащими, да на рѣчке Рогозце купленою мелницею о дву колесах[ъ] мучных[ъ], а третим[ъ] ступным[ъ], а при ней десятю человѣки тяглыми людми и челядю, да в[ъ] селѣ в[ъ] Новых[ъ] Млинах[ъ], в[ъ] полку Черниговском[ъ], при гребле, прозываемой Новомлинской, на рекѣ Снове, одними жерновами купленой мелницы, прозываемой Дягоцевской, да в[ъ] Дырчинѣ селѣ, на рекѣ Снове ж[ъ], одними жерновами купленой мелницы, прозываемой Полетиченской, да в[ъ] Любецкой сотнѣ грунтом[ъ] купленым[ъ] и селцом[ъ] двумя Семаками, Пересажею прозываемыми, и мелницею о едином[ъ] колесѣ на рекѣ Муравле, да под[ъ] селомъ Слободиным[ъ] о дву колесах[ъ] мелницею, да на рѣчке Золотинце мелницею ж[ъ] о дву колесах[ъ], да под[ъ] селом[ъ] Андрѣевкой ґреблею купленою, прозываемою Царовскую, а на нем[ъ] мелницею о двух[ъ] колесах[ъ] владѣть. И вышепомянутых[ъ] сел[ъ] от[ъ] посполитых[ъ] людей, буде которые посполитые люди из[ъ] давных[ъ] лѣт[ъ] в[ъ] воисковой росписи не написаны и на нашей царского величества службѣ в походѣх[ъ] нигдѣ не были, послушание и повинность отбирать. А с[ъ] мелницъ и с[ъ] хуторов[ъ] и з[ъ] грунтов[ъ] всякие пожитки употреблять. А иностороннимъ людемъ, которые с[ъ] нимъ смежны, обидъ ни в[ъ] чем[ъ] никаких[ъ] не чинить, на что и сию нашу великих[ъ] государей нашего царского величества жалованную грамоту дать ему указали, на памят[ь] наслѣдником[ъ] ево. А казаки, в[ъ] тѣх[ъ] же вышепомянутыхъ селѣх[ъ] живущие и в[ъ] войсковомъ списке обрѣтающеяся, имѣют[ъ] быти при своих[ъ] волностях[ъ] ненарушимо.

И то мы великие государи наше царское величество силою сей нашей царского величества жалованной грамоты ему, Якову, и наслѣдником[ъ] ево укрѣпляем[ъ] и утвержаем[ъ], потому что онъ ту нашу царского величества милость и жаловане получилъ за свои вѣрные и знатные к[ъ] нам[ъ] великим[ъ] государем[ъ] и нашему царкому величеству службы; и чтоб, предсмотря на тѣ ево службы и вѣрное радѣние, наслѣдники роду ево также нам[ъ] великим[ъ] государем[ъ] нашему царскому величеству и нашим[ъ] государскимъ наслѣдником[ъ] служили. И волно ему, Якову, тѣ грунты и мелницы со всѣми угод[ь]и продать и заложить, за приданые дать. А для вящаго отвержения нашего царского величества милости сѣ нашу великих[ъ] государей нашего царского [величества самодержцу сю жалованную грамоту] утвердить и нашего царского величества государственною печат[ь]ю повелѣли.

Писана сия наша царского величества [жалованная грамота в нашем царству] ющем[ъ] велицѣмъ граде Москвѣ, лѣта от[ъ] сотворения мира 7203-го [1695], месяца генваря 25-го дня, государство

великих[ъ] государей их[ъ]
царского величества
Василей Бобининъ

Нашею милостию пресветлѣйшие и державнѣйшие великие государи цари и великие князи Иоаннъ Але𝔷ѣевичь, Петръ Але𝔷ѣевичь всеа Великия и Малыя и Бѣлыя Росии самодержцы

Справил Иван Чередѣевъ

Со оной копия въ комисию генералной ревизии взята в[ъ] Черниговѣ 1766 году, сентября 27 дня, подѣ литерою Б.

Подполковникь Иванъ Юматовъ

Charter 3

Allen MS 29:17 Dated March 1690

Co-tsars Ivan and Pëtr Alekseeviči confirm the ownership of property that others have disputed by Stepan Otroxiv, mayor of Černihiv.

Божиею милостию мы пресвѣтлѣйшие и державнѣйшие великие государи цари и великие князи Иоаннъ Але𝔷ѣевичь, Петръ Але𝔷ѣевичь всеа Великия и Малыя и Бѣлыя России самодержцы Московские, Киевские, Владимерские, Новгородцкие, цари Казанские, цари Астраханские, цари Сибирские, государи Псковские и великие князи Смоленские, Тверские, Югорские, Пермские, Вятцкие, Болгорские и иныхъ государи и великие князи Нова Города Низовские земли, Черниговские, Резанские, Ростовские, Ярославские, Белоозерские, Удорские, Обдорские, Кондинские и всеа сѣверныя страны повелители и государи и Перские земли, Карталинскихъ и Грузинскихъ царей и Кабардинские земли, Черкаскихъ и Горскихъ князей и иныхъ многихъ государствъ и земель восточных[ъ], и западныхъ, и сѣверных[ъ] отчичи и дѣдичи, и наслѣдники, и государи, и обламдатели [сиц], наше царское величество пожаловали черниговского воита Степана Отрохова, велѣли ему дать сию нашу великихъ государей нашего царского величества жалованную грамоту на даные и на купленые ево земли, и на мелницы, и на всяке угодья. Для того, в[ъ], н[ы]нешнемъ во 198мъ году, бил[ъ] челомъ нам[ъ] великимъ государемъ, нашему царскому величеству, онъ, Степанъ, что, по нашему великихъ государей указу, подданной нашъ войска Запорожского обоихъ сторонъ Днепра гетманъ Иванъ Степановичь Мазепа подтвердилъ ему листом[ъ] своимъ поля называемые Панские, под[ъ] Любечемъ обрѣтающияся, которыми полями издавна владѣлъ отецъ ево и онъ, Степанъ, по отводу полковниковъ черниговских[ъ]; да за ним[ъ] же под[ъ] городом[ъ] Любечем[ъ] купленое поле, называемое Ладунково, что онъ купилъ у Тимофѣя Шушары; и той землѣ поселилось жителей пятнадцать дворовъ; да на рекѣ Белоусе купленая жъ мелница, что онъ купилъ церкви Рожества Пресвятыя Богородицы у попа Ильи Еуфимова; да подле той же мелницы слободка Белоуска со крестьяны; да на той же рѣчке и гребли купленая

мелница об[ъ] один[ъ] жернов[ъ], что он купилъ у Прокофя Жданенка; да подле рѣчки Смалиговки поля и дуброва, и селенище со крестьяны, и сеножати з[ъ] деревом[ъ] бортнымъ и до бортей годнымъ; да поля, что онъ купил[ъ] у Феска Якимова да у Ивана Семенова в[ъ] Любецкомъ уѣзде. И на тѣ на всѣ купленые земли и мелницы з[ъ] записныхъ черниговскихъ градскихъ книгъ даны ему выписи за печатью ратушною. А нашие де великих[ъ] государей, нашего царского величества жалованные грамоты на тѣ даные и купленые поля и земли, и на мелницы, и на всякие угодья ему не дано. И чтоб[ъ] мы великие государи наше царское величество пожаловали ево, велѣли на тѣ ево даные поля и на купленые земли и мелницы, и на всякие угод[ь]я по данному гетманскому листу и по купчимъ дать нашего царского величества жалованную грамоту.

А в[ъ] листу подданного нашего войска Запорожского обойхъ сторонъ Денпра гетмана Ивана Степановича Мазепы, нынешняго 198го году написано, по нашему великих[ъ] государей, нашего царского величества указу, утвержаетъ онъ воиту Черниговскому Степану Отрохову поля, прозываемые Панские, под[ъ] Любечемъ обрѣтающияся, которыми полями издавна отецъ ево и онъ, Степанъ, по отводу прежних[ъ] черниговских[ъ] полковников[ъ], владѣли, и поволилъ ему тѣми полями владѣти, пахати и сѣяти, и всякие с[ъ] нихъ отбирати пожитки. И чтобъ ему в[ъ] томъ владѣнии полковник[ъ] Черниговской и нихто иной не чинили никакие обиды и препоны.

А в[ъ] выписях[ъ], каковы ему, воиту, даны ис[ъ] книг[ъ] ратушных[ъ] города Чернигова, написано: 1686 году Феско Якимов[ъ] да Иванъ Молочковъ перед[ъ] урядом[ъ] в[ъ] ратуше Черниговской обьявили, что имѣют[ъ] они часть грунтов[ъ] в[ъ] уѣзде Любецком[ъ], а в[ъ] воеводстве издавных[ъ] лѣтъ Киевском[ъ], в[ъ] Милковшинѣ половина части Лавриновской, поля паханые, селища облоги, сеножати з[ъ] деревом[ъ] бортным[ъ] и до бортей годным[ъ] подле реки Смалиговки правом[ъ] подлинным[ъ] належащие со всѣми пожитками вѣчно Степану Отрохову и женѣ ево, и дѣтям[ъ] за восмьдесят[ъ] золотых[ъ] полских[ъ] продали и, денги взяв[ъ], на том[ъ] же уряде объявили; да в[ъ] выписи же 1687го году написано: Илья Еуфимов[ъ], священникъ церкви Рожества Пресвятыя Богородицы урочища Новых[ъ] Млиновъ ко увѣдомлению вѣдомо чинит[ъ], что имѣетъ онъ колесо на рекѣ Белоусе, по наслѣдствию после смерти сродника своего Григоря Яхимова оставшееся, доброволным[ъ], а не сильным[ъ] способом[ъ], по изволению своему продалъ Степану же Отрохову при тестѣ своемъ Самоиле Леонтьеве и при Исае Знатном[ъ] товарыще полку Черниговского и при Маѯиме Бержанинѣ, черниговцѣ раице права Маидебурского, за подлинные добрые денги, за триста за пятьдесят[ъ] золотых[ъ], которые денги он[ъ] подлинно своими руками взялъ и запись ему, Степану, далъ; и чтобъ ему, Степану, сродники ево Ильины, Иванъ и Козма Яхимовы вѣчными времяны никакова досадителства не чиних[ъ] и не вступались.

Да в[ъ] выписи же 1688го написано: Тимошка Шушара з[ъ] братом[ъ] своимъ Васильем[ъ] при Саве Внучке, сотнице Любецком[ъ] и Семеном[ъ] Коверичем[ъ], атаманом[ъ] городовым[ъ] Любецким[ъ], и Дмитреемъ Демиденком[ъ], казаком[ъ], и Ерошем[ъ] Стасенком[ъ], мещанином[ъ], и Евтифѣем[ъ] Караю, казаком[ъ], жителми любецкими и иными людми, в[ъ] то время будущими

мещанами Любецкими, доброволно в[ъ] книги вписать приказали, что волею своею продали поля своѣ, никому ни в[ъ] чемъ не данное, бурмистру Черниговскому Трофиму Игнатову в[ъ] вѣчное владѣние за четыре рубли денегъ, которое поле належит[ъ] от[ъ] межи ярошевой до дороги и кургана. И волно ему бурмистру и женѣ ево, и дѣтям[ъ] на тѣх[ъ] полях[ъ] строитца и пожитокъ имѣти вѣчно. И в[ъ] то поле имъ самим[ъ] и сродником[ъ] их[ъ], никому не вступатца под[ъ] зарядом[ъ] тритцати червонныхъ золотых[ъ] на горовой урядъ.

А по скаске воита Степана Отрохова, что тѣмъ полем[ъ] владѣлъ отець ево Трофимъ Игнатов[ъ], а после отца своего в[ъ] пожитках[ъ] и во всем[ъ] имѣнии ево наслѣдником[ъ] остался онъ, Степанъ.

Да в[ъ] выписи же 1689го году написано: Прокопъ Андрѣянко Жданенко, мелникъ старого Белоуса мелницы Яхимовской доброволно в[ъ] книги городовые черниговские записалъ, что имѣя онъ в[ъ] мелнице одну половину жернов[ъ] части мелничной, вотчину свою подлинную, никому ни в[ъ] чем[ъ] не заложеную, с[ъ] селищем[ъ] ждановским[ъ] продалъ Степану же Отрохову и женѣ ево, и дѣтям[ъ] за четыре ста за дватцеть золотых[ъ] полских[ъ] и денги взялъ. Да онъ же, мелникъ, на уряде обьявилъ, что ему же, воиту и женѣ ево, и дѣтям[ъ] поступился во владѣние половину части мелничной, в[ъ] заднем[ъ] камени; и ему, воиту, с[ъ] тое мелницы пожитки всякие на себя упоребляти.

Мы пресветлѣйшие и державнѣйшие великие государи цари и великие князи Иоаннъ Алеѯѣевичь, Петръ Алеѯѣевичь всеа Великия и Малыя и Бѣлыя Росии самодержцы, наше царское величество, слушав[ъ] того Степана Отрохова челобитья и подданного нашего войска Запорожского обоих[ъ] сторон[ъ] Днепра гетмана Ивана Степановича данного ему листа и из[ъ] городовых[ъ] черниговских[ъ] ратушных[ъ] книгъ выписей, пожаловали ево, Степана, велѣли ему вышепомянутыми данными и куплеными землями и мелницами, и всякими угод[ь]ми, буде от[ъ] кого в[ъ] чем[ъ] спору какова не будет[ъ], владѣть и всякие с[ъ] них[ъ] обыклые доходы и пожитки употреблять такъ, какъ ими предки владѣли и какъ они в[ъ] себѣ изстари ограничение и мѣжу имѣют[ъ], не захватывая помѣщиковых[ъ] и вотчинниковых[ъ] земель, которые служат[ъ] намъ великимъ государем[ъ], нашему царскому величеству в[ъ] полку Черниговском[ъ]; на что и сию нашу великихъ государей, нашего царского величества жалованную грамоту дать ему указали и ему, вышепомянутому воиту Степану Отрохову, видя к[ъ] себѣ сию нашу государскую милость, намъ великимъ государем[ъ], нашему царскому величеству радѣть и всякого добра хотѣть и междо черниговскими мещанами и купецкими людми чинити к[ъ] пожитку и цѣлости их[ъ] всякое доброе поведѣние и строение, как[ъ] у нихъ изстари бывало; и тѣми вышепомянутыми даными и куплеными землями и мелницами и всякими приналежащими к[ъ] ним[ъ] угод[ь]и владѣть и всякие с[ъ] них[ъ] доходы имать и пожитки употреблять, какь о том[ъ] изоображено въ сей нашей царского величества жалованной грамоте выше сего.

А для вящаго утвержения нашей царского величества милости и вѣчного владѣния тѣми данными и куплеными землями и мелницами, со всякими к[ъ] ним[ъ] приналежащими угод[ь]и, ему, Степану и женѣ ево, и дѣтямъ сеѣ нашу великих[ъ] государей, нашего царского величества жалованную грамоту

утвердить нашего царского величества печатью повелѣли. Писана ся наша царского величества жалованная грамота в[ъ] нашем[ъ] царстующемъ велицем[ъ] граде Москвѣ, лѣта от[ъ] создания мира 7198-го [1690, ин тэис часе], месяца марта 26-го дня государствования нашего 8-го году.

Великих[ъ] государей ихъ царского
величества государственного посолского
приказу дьякъ

Андрей Виниусъ

Нашею милостию пресветлѣйшие и державнѣйшие великие государи цари и великие князи Иоаннъ Алеѯѣевичь, Петръ Алеѯѣевичь всеа Великия и Малыя и Бѣлыя России самодержцы

Справил подячей Кондрат Никитин

Со оной копия в[ъ] комисию генералной ревизии в[ъ] Черниговѣ взято: 1766 году, сентября 27 дня, под[ъ] лите [рою] В.

Подполковникъ [Иванъ Юматовъ]

REVIEW ARTICLES

The Kievan Principality in the Century before the Mongol Invasion: An Inquiry into Recent Research and Interpretation*

DAVID B. MILLER

Scholars have proposed different historical scenarios for the evolution of Kiev and its land in the century before the Mongol invasion. There has never been a consensus regarding the vitality of Kiev's economy. Only recently have scholars seriously attempted to understand its demography. Historians have also argued about the structure of Kievan society and the values of Rus' princes, whose ceaseless wars for the town fill the chronicles.[1] As a result they have disputed whether Kiev had a feudal society and differed over what it means to say so. They have also disagreed over Kiev's significance for the origin of Ukrainian, Russian, and, by implication, Belorussian ethnicity.

These problems have resurfaced in the remarkable output of writings about Old Rus' that have appeared in the last two decades, writings that have dealt either directly or in passing with Kiev and the Kievan land. More recently, the convening of the "combined scientific session" of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the Academy of Sciences of the URSR on 14 April 1982, to celebrate the 1500th anniversary of settlement on the current territory of the city, touched off an explosion of scholarly publications about Kiev. The official speeches concerned the founding of Kiev in the 5th century and its role as a "forepost of Slavic settlement"

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[1] I use the term *Rus'* in its widest meaning, namely, to designate the lands owing allegiance to the "house of Riuryk." It should be noted that the earliest chronicles with information about the 12th-13th centuries often used *Rus'* to mean only the lands of Pereiaslav, Chernihiv, and Kiev; e.g., *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (hereafter *PSRL*), vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Leningrad, 1926–28), cols. 416, 418–20ff.; vol. 2, 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg, 1908), cols. 683, 704, 766ff.; *Novgorodskaia pervaia letopis'*, ed. A. N. Nasonov (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), pp. 52–53, 249–52ff. Also B. A. Rybakov, "Drevnie Rusy," *Sovetskoe arkheologiia* (hereafter *SA*), 17 (1953), especially pp. 40–41; and A. N. Nasonov, *"Russkaia zemlia" i obrazovanie territorii drevnerusskogo gosudarstva* (Moscow, 1951).

(B. A. Rybakov).[2] Whatever the significance of the finds on Castle Hill on which the claim was based, most important for us are the works summarizing the results of intensive archaeological investigations in Kiev and its environs by the Kiev Expedition, created by the Institute of Archaeology of the Ukrainian Academy in 1970.[3] The evidence gathered from these digs has greatly enriched discussion of a range of questions about the demography and economic life of Kiev. Together with recent studies and excavations of towns and fortified places in the Kievan land, it has informed the debates of Soviet and, to a lesser extent, of Western medievalists about the sociopolitical order and culture of Kiev (and of Rus') before the Mongol conquest in 1240. What follows is a critical excursion into this rich literature, during which we inquire into its findings about (1) the economy and demography of Kiev and its land, (2) politics and social structure, and (3) Kiev's relationship to other principalities and its significance for cultural and ethnic differentiation. We shall also ask how new scholarship has caused us to modify or revise earlier interpretations.

From V. O. Kliuchevskii and Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi to M. N. Tikhomirov, as well as in most English language surveys, it has been commonplace to write that the population and economy of Kiev and its land were declining in the century before the conquest. These writers came to this conclusion mainly on the basis of chronicle reports of wars destructive for Kiev, the incursions of steppe nomads into its land, and the town's decline as the political center even of southern Rus'. To a lesser extent they operated on the supposition that the Dnieper River trade route to the Black Sea was declining in importance. Only Tikhomirov, writing in 1956, relied heavily on archaeological evidence.[4] By then, Rybakov, in a monumental survey of

2 *Sovets'koe slavianovedenie*, 1982, no. 5, pp. 121–22.

3 N. F. Kotliar and P. P. Tolochko, "Drevnii Kiev v noveishikh izyskaniiakh," *Obshchestvennye nauki*, 1982, no. 2, pp. 117–29; S. R. Kylyevych, "Arkheolohichna karta Kyivs'koho dytyntsia," in *Arkheolohichni doslidzhennia starodavn'oho Kyeva* (hereafter *ADSK*) (Kiev, 1976), pp. 179–213; [P. P. Tolochko et al., eds.], *Novoe v arkheologii Kieva* (Kiev, 1981), pp. 8–36.

4 Pre-1917 interpretations by S. M. Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen*, 15 vols. (Moscow, 1959–66), 1:529–34; V. O. Kliuchevskii, *A History of Russia*, 5 vols., trans. C. J. Hogarth (New York, 1960), 1:182–202; Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi (Mikhail Grushevskii), *Ocherk istorii kievskoi zemli* (Kiev, 1891), pp. 225–26, 396–404; idem, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, 10 vols. (New York, 1954–58), 3:334–37, 340–41; idem, "The Traditional Scheme of Russian History and the Problem of a Rational Organization of the History of the Eastern Slavs," *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* 2 (1952): 355–64; A. E. Presniakov, *Lektsii po russkoi istorii*, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1938–39), 1:229–40, and 2:15–17. The dominant interpreter of the Stalin era was B. D. Grekov, *Kievskaia Rus'*, 3rd ed. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1939), pp. 274–82. Also *Sovetskaia istoriografiia Kievskoi Rusi*, ed. V. V. Mavrodin et al. (Leningrad, 1978), pp. 63–127, 142–51; M. N. Tikhomirov, *The Towns of Ancient Rus*, trans. I. Sdobinkov (of the 2nd ed.) (Moscow, 1959), pp. 198–214; Michael Florinsky, *Russia: A History and an Interpretation*, 2 vols. (New York, 1953–55), 1:40–41; Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia*, 4th ed. (New York, 1984), pp. 40–42; Jerome Blum, *Lord and Peasant in Russia* (Princeton, 1961), pp. 57–61. George Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven, 1948), pp. 215–16, recognizing the difficulty in making such judgments,

the crafts of Rus' (1948), had already challenged the prevailing line of interpretation. Furthermore, he supported his position with an impressive array of archaeological evidence. Several years later M. K. Karger produced an equally massive study of Kiev (1958–1961), in which he joined Rybakov in staking out a quite different view of pre-Mongol Kiev's material culture and population.[5] Rybakov had argued that technological levels, specialization and output in metal working, ceramics and other crafts increased during this period. Karger supported Rybakov's claims. He reported large finds over a wide area of Kievan polychromatic glazed pottery, often bearing a mark which he took to be that of its potter, as well as of tubular locks, simple glass bracelets, slate parts for looms, and various metal wares. From limited evidence and with several reservations (that buildings were smaller than they had been and that Kiev no longer dictated building styles in Rus'), Karger also noted a significant volume of construction in stone and brick from the middle years of the 12th century to 1240 and interpreted this as evidence of the town's continued prosperity. He counted at least nine new churches, some of which were probably attached to princely residences in Kiev and its suburbs or to suburban monasteries.[6] Since these works appeared, P. P. Tolochko, S. R. Kylyevych, K. M. Hupalo, and other archaeologists have dug in many parts of old Kiev and its environs (figs. 1 and 2).[7] Their work, with few exceptions, supports the position of Rybakov and Karger, especially their claim that Kiev grew in size and population and enjoyed an ascending prosperity despite political troubles, not the least of which were sacks by Andrei Bogoliubskii in 1169 and Riuryk Rostyslavych in 1203. In addition, Tolochko has offered a revisionist model of typical Kievan dwellings and used it in making the first serious attempt to estimate Kiev's population for this period.[8]

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did not come down clearly on one side or the other. Recently Omeljan Pritsak said that trade on the route from the Dnieper River to Byzantium had declined; "Kievan Rus' and Sixteenth–Seventeenth-Century Ukraine," in Ivan L. Rudnytsky, ed., *Rethinking Ukrainian History* (Edmonton, 1983), p. 3.

5 B. A. Rybakov, *Remeslo Drevnei Rusi* (Moscow, 1948); M. K. Karger, *Drevnii Kiev*, 2 vols. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1958–61). The first archaeological discoveries of Kievan crafts were in 1907–1909; V. V. Khvoiko, *Drevnie obivateli srednego Pridneprov'ia i ikh kul'tura v doistoricheskie vremena* (Kiev, 1913), especially pp. 69–73.

6 Karger, *Drevnii Kiev*, 1:231–84, 369–487, and 2:428–91, especially 483, 491; Rybakov, *Remeslo*, pp. 432–33.

7 Figures appear at the end of the article.

8 *PSRL*, vol. 2, col. 545, and vol. 1, cols. 418–19. Polemical assertions of Kiev's vitality are H. Iu. Ivakin, "XII–XIII storichchia: Rozvii chy zanepad?," *Nauka i suspil'stvo*, 1981, no. 7, pp. 44–47; and N. F. Kotliar, "Kiev v istorii vostochnykh slavian (do serediny XIII v.)," *Sovetskoe slavianovedenie*, 1982, no. 5, pp. 35–45. Recent comprehensive bibliographies from the Tsentral'na naukova biblioteka, AN URSR, are *Radians'ka literatura z arkheolohii Ukrainy, 1967–1975 rr.* (Kiev, 1978), and *Sovetskaia literatura po istorii drevnego Kieva, 1918–1983* (Kiev, 1984). See recent works in fn. 3, above, and K. N. Hupalo and P. P. Tolochko, "Davn'okyivs'kyi Podil u svitli novykh arkheolohichnykh doslidzhen'," *Starodavnii Kyiv* (Kiev, 1975), pp. 40–79; P. P. Tolochko, *Istorychna topohrafiia starodavn'oho Kyeva* (Kiev, 1972); idem, *Kiev i kievskaia zemlia v epokhu feodal'noi razdroblennosti XII–XIII vekov* (Kiev, 1980); idem, *Drevnii Kiev* (Kiev, 1983); P. P. Tolochko, K. N. Hupalo, and V. O. Kharlamov, "Rozkopky Kyevo-Podolu 1973 r.," in *ADSK*, pp. 19–46; K. N. Hupalo, H. Iu.

In these new excavations archaeologists found artisanal workshops and what were either shops or storehouses of trade goods in the upper town (the "towns of Volodymyr and Iaroslav"; fig. 1) and, for the first time, in the Podil quarter. They confirmed the early origin of the Podil as a center of trade and manufactures. Also, in some of the digs in the Podil, archaeological layers were well preserved and clearly demarcated. As a result archaeologists have been able to date them from the artifacts contained therein with a reasonable degree of certainty. The artifacts included rich caches of locally produced glass, ceramics, amber, jewelry, and metal work. Some of the decorative metal work displayed new technologies of enameling and niello. In fact, in most cases the artifacts were more numerous, varied, and sophisticated than those in earlier layers. The identification of artisanal shops which made glassware, items of bronze and ferrous metals, amber jewelry, and stoneware rested on unmistakable traces of furnaces, tools, and polishing stones for craft production, as well as on locally crafted molds for casting metal jewelry made from Ovruch slate. The sites also yielded manufacturing by-products such as discarded parts of varicolored glass bracelets, distaffs of Ovruch slate for looms, slag and parts of metal ornaments for belts and harness, steel-edged blades for knives, etc. Incidentally this was the first clear evidence of the working of Ovruch slate other than at the site where it was mined. Thus, the latest evidence supported Rybakov's thesis about the rising quality and quantity of Kiev's manufactures. The one exception, which he and Karger had noted, was ceramics. Although for our period ceramic artifacts were more abundant and the pottery in the opinion of Tolochko and others more graceful, the pottery was more fragile and less colorful. These cheap-

Ivakin, and M. A. Sahaidak, "Doslidzhennia Kyivs'koho Podolu (1974–1975 rr.)," and Ia. E. Borovs'kyi and P. P. Tolochko, "Kyivs'ka rotonda," in *Arkheolohiia Kyeva: Doslidzhennia i materialy* (Kiev, 1979), pp. 38–62, 90–103, and the review of that work by M. Iu. Braichevs'kyi in *SA*, 1983, no. 3, pp. 256–62; K. N. Hupalo (Gupalo), *Podol v drevnem Kieve* (Kiev, 1982); S. R. Kylyevych (Kilievich), *Detinets Kieva IX–pervoi poloviny XIII vekov* (Kiev, 1982); K. N. Hupalo (Gupalo) and H. Iu. Ivakin, "O remeslennom proizvodstve na Kievskom Podole," *SA*, 1980, no. 2, pp. 203–19; P. P. Georgiev, "K voprosu o drevnerusskikh baniakh," *SA*, 1981, no. 1, pp. 100–108; N. H. Putsko, "Kamennyi rel'ef iz kievskikh nakhodok," *SA*, 1981, no. 2, pp. 223–31; Iu. S. Aseev, *Arkhitektura drevnego Kieva* (Kiev, 1982); M. A. Sahaidak (Sagaidak), *Velikii gorod Iaroslava* (Kiev, 1982); P. P. Tolochko and M. A. Sahaidak, "Vyvchennia starodavn'oho Kyeva u 1976–1980 rr.," *Arkheolohiia* 40 (1982):97–111; and notices by Ivakin, Sahaidak, and Kharlamov in *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1981 goda* (Moscow, 1983), pp. 262–63, 317–18, 327–28, and by Borovs'kyi, Ivakin, and Kylyevych in *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1982 goda* (Moscow, 1984), p. 244–45, 262–63, 265–66. See also recent works placing Kiev in a larger context: L. D. Pobol', P. S. Sokhan', and H. V. Shtykhaŭ (G. V. Shtykov), eds., *Kiev i zapadnye zemli Rusi v IX–XIII vv.* (Minsk, 1982); H. V. Shtykhaŭ (G. V. Shtykhov), "Kiev i drevnie goroda Belorussii," and N. F. Kotliar, "Kievskaia Rus' v istoricheskikh sud'bakh Vostochnykh Slavian," in L. D. Pobol', M. M. Cherniavskii, and H. V. Shtykhaŭ (G. V. Shtykhov), eds., *Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo i slaviane: Materialy simpoziuma posviashchennogo 1500 letiiu Kieva* (Minsk, 1983), pp. 54–57, 103–107; B. A. Rybakov, *Kievskaia Rus' i russkie kniazhestva XII–XIII vv.* (Moscow, 1982).

ening qualities, the same scholars suggested less persuasively, were the result of commercial production.[9]

Recent scholarship has not produced evidence of like quality and quantity about Kiev's commerce. For one thing, new finds have not caused historians to revise the view that, with the curtailment of the flow of dirhems, southern Rus' experienced a "coinless" period, whereas European dinars began to appear in northern Rus'. On the other hand, the digs have produced evidence that Kiev continued to trade with Byzantium and began to trade with the Italian towns that were then in the process of supplanting the empire in eastern commerce. The most that one can say is that Kiev's "foreign" commerce and the Dnieper River trade route remained important. This may well be true in a relative sense as well. Although coin finds mark the growth of old routes and the development of new ones in the north, archaeologists have found (mostly) silver *grivny* (cast rings of precious metals that substituted for coinage) on forty-one sites in Kiev in layers of the 12th and 13th centuries. By weight they constituted over one-third of all *grivna* finds for this period in Rus'. Recent studies also repeated Rybakov's contention that town merchants exported Kievan wares throughout Rus'. Most of the evidence has been available for some time. It consists of finds in virtually all towns in Rus' of jewelry, glassware, metal castings and forgings, and ceramics which Rybakov identified as of Kievan origin. This being the case, Kiev apparently dominated a huge "internal" market in some of these wares without serious competition.[10]

Finally, Tolochko, Kylyevych, and others added to the list of monumental structures which Karger had compiled and from which he argued that Kiev continued to prosper in the century before 1240. In his latest report Tolochko listed forty-five structures of stone or brick in old Kiev, of which nineteen were built during that period. More such buildings have since come to light. If one accepts the existence of extensive log construction in Kiev (see the next paragraph) as evidence that wood

9 Dendrochronological studies have dated a chronological series of layers. Scholars have not yet succeeded in linking the series to historical time from Kievan sources. As a result, they have resorted to comparing tree ring variations in Kiev with those of Novgorod for which historical dating has been established. Cf. G. F. Korzukhina, "Kievskie iuveliry nakanune mongol'skogo zavoevaniia," *SA* 14 (1950): 220–35, with Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev*, pp. 137–80, and idem, *Kiev*, pp. 39–66; Tolochko et al., *Novoe*, pp. 265–378, 426–50; Hupalo, *Podol*, pp. 22–28ff.; Tolochko and Sahaidak, "Vyvchennia," pp. 104–107; Sahaidak in *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1981 goda*, pp. 317–18; Hupalo and Ivakin, "O remeslennom," pp. 203–19; Ivakin in *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1982 goda*, pp. 262–63; Iu. Iu. Kondufor et al., eds., *Istoriia Kieva*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1982), pp. 91–99.

10 Tolochko et al., *Novoe*, pp. 366–78, 414–24. Also N. P. Bauer, "Denezhnyi schet v dukhovnoi Novgorodtsa Klimenta i denezhnoe obrashchenie v severo-zapadnoi Rusi v XIII v.," *Problemy istochnikovedeniia*, 3 (1940): 175–203; V. L. Ianin, "Berestianye gramoty i problema proiskhozhdeniia novgorodskoi denezhnoi sistemy XV v.," *Vspomogatel'nye istoricheskie distsipliny* 3 (1970): 150–79; Artur Attman, *The Bullion Flow Between Europe and the East, 1000–1750* (Göteborg, 1981), pp. 10–18; and cf. M. B. Sverdlov, "Istochniki dlia izucheniia russkogo denezhnogo obrashcheniia XII–XIII vv.," *Vspomogatel'nye istoricheskie distsipliny* 9 (1978): 3–16, and with Kotliar, "Eshche raz o 'bezmonetnom' periode denezhnogo obrashcheniia Drevnei Rusi (XII–XIII vv.)," ibid., 5 (1973): 152–69.

for building was easily available and cheap, then it seems reasonable to conclude that building in stone or brick was a sign of prosperity. By comparison, we know of only ten monumental buildings in Vladimir-Suzdal'skii and only twelve in Halych in all of their history to the Mongol invasion.[11]

Turning to another subject, we should note that Tolochko has proposed that we revise our conception of what an ordinary Kievan dwelling looked like. As long ago as 1913, V. V. Khvoiko wrote that the standard dwelling of Kiev and the mixed zone of forest-steppe was a semi-dugout of post-and-frame construction. It was thought to have walls of baked mud and very often to have stood two or more stories high. Karger and M. Iu. Braichevs'kyi accepted the model. For Kiev it implied a high density of population, perhaps analogous to that of walled towns in Western Europe. The model stood in contrast to log dwellings of the forest zone. Log dwellings were usually one and one-half stories from ground surface. Typically they were part of a complex (Ukr. *sadyba*; Russ. *usad'ba*) with outbuildings and open space, the remaining sides of which were enclosed by a fence. Towns built primarily from such units would obviously have a lower population density.[12] In 1972 Tolochko reported the discovery in Kiev of traces of log buildings, some being part of a *sadyba*. As more evidence of log dwellings in old Kiev accumulated, he argued that log houses and the *sadyba* layout predominated over post-and-frame dwellings. Whether or not that was so, Hupalo and Ia. E. Borovs'kyi confirmed the presence of extensive log construction and the *sadyba* layout in the upper town and in the Podil. It is now thought that in the Podil, situated low near the Dnieper, a high water table ruled out dugouts and necessitated surface log construction.[13] Tolochko concluded from this that conceptions of Kiev's population density needed to be revised downwards. Acting accordingly, he made a new estimate of Kiev's population. To put his work into perspective, we must make a digression into the field of European medieval demography before looking at it directly.

[11] Tolochko, *Istorychna topohrafiia*, pp. 189–92; P. P. Tolochko and Iu. S. Aseev, "Novyi pam"iatnik arkhitektury drevnego Kieva," in V. N. Lazarev et al., eds., *Drevne-russkoe iskusstvo: Khudozhestvennaia kul'tura domongol'skoi Rusi* (Moscow, 1972), pp. 80–87; Aseev, *Arkhitektura*, pp. 131–44; I. I. Movchan, *Drevnie Vydubichi* (Kiev, 1982), pp. 7–9; Borovs'kyi and Tolochko, "Kyivs'ka rotonda," pp. 90–103; Kylyevych, "Arkheolohichna karta," pp. 179–213, and *Detinets Kieva*, pp. 101–25; Tolochko and Sahaidak, "Vyvchennia," pp. 98–103; Putsko, "Kamennyi rel'ef," pp. 223–31; Kharlamov in *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1981 goda*, pp. 327–28; Kondufor et al., *Istoriia Kieva*, 1:145; Braichevs'kyi, review in *SA*, 1983, no. 3, pp. 259–60.

[12] Karger, *Drevnii Kiev*, 1:285–368, the historical section of Tolochko, *Kiev i kievskaia zemlia*, pp. 76–80, and Jacques LeGoff's observation about "the prestige of walls of stone, of solid building . . .," in Carlo M. Cipolla, ed., *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*, 6 vols. (New York, 1970–77), 1:74.

[13] Tolochko, *Istorychna topohrafiia*, pp. 111–18, 128–29; idem, *Kiev i kievskaia zemlia*, pp. 80–89; Kharlamov and Hupalo in Tolochko et al., *Novoe*, pp. 79–140; Hupalo, *Podol*, pp. 36–53; and Borovs'kyi in *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1982 goda*, pp. 244–45.

A good deal has been written of late about the population of towns and regions of Italy and Western Europe. For pre-Plague (pre–1340s) Europe demographers agreed that surviving evidence can substantiate only the most general statements about population.[14] Such statements, however, may be as valid as other generalizations which medievalists habitually make. For example, historians in most cases agreed that a town which creates new suburbs was growing, and that evidence of such growth was records of the extension of town walls behind which most suburbs came to be protected. Kiev's system of walls in general has been fairly well understood for a long time. Tolochko deserves credit, however, for adding many details, largely by relating physical evidence drawn from archaeological discoveries to the more familiar references in written sources, and for making a painstaking reconstruction of the system. From his work there can be little doubt that Kiev in our period was growing from what was already a large size and population.[15]

For estimates of absolute population, where no quantitative sources survive, demographers have had to rely on calculations of town size and population density, and to be content with approximations for results. Despite the possibility of wide margins of error, this remains useful, particularly for comparisons between towns whose size and population have been similarly calculated. For our period it is necessary to use such procedures in estimating the populations of most European towns. Kiev is no exception. Tolochko has followed this method and however speculative his results may be, they are more useful than anything that has gone before. Hrushevs'kyi, for instance, on the basis of foreign references to its great size, wrote that at its peak Kiev had about one hundred thousand inhabitants. George Vernadsky projected figures of the first Russian census (18th century) backward through time to arrive at an estimated population for Rus' of seven to eight million and, from that, a combined estimate of four hundred thousand for Kiev, Novgorod, and Smolensk. Braichevs'kyi, citing the same evidence that Hrushevs'kyi used, put Kiev's population at "several tens of thousands" in the Ukrainian edition of *The History of Kiev*, but at one hundred thousand in the Russian edition. Tikhomirov wrote that Kiev was a "giant" town of "tens of thousands." In support he mentioned the same foreign sources and proposed that for each of the

[14] J. C. Russell's *Late Ancient and Medieval Population* (Philadelphia, 1958) was a pioneering work. Others, however, think his estimates of absolute population for towns and regions too low. On the pitfalls involved in making estimates, see M. M. Postan, *The Medieval Economy and Society: An Economic History of Britain, 1100–1500* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1972), pp. 27–31; Norman J. G. Pounds, *An Economic History of Medieval Europe* (London and New York, 1974), pp. 123–43; Harry A. Miskimin, *The Economy of Early Renaissance Europe, 1300–1460* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969), pp. 74–75.

[15] Tolochko, *Istorychna topohrafiia*, pp. 82–175, and *Drevnii Kiev*, pp. 63–96. Also Kotliar, "Kyiv u davn'orus'kykh litopysakh," *Arkhivy Ukrainy*, 1980, no. 1, pp. 36–37; Miskimin, *Economy of Early Renaissance Europe*, pp. 75–77; and Pounds, *Economic History of Medieval Europe*, pp. 254–78.

eight thousand warriors that Kiev sent into the field, according to Nestor's sermon to Borys and Hlib, there must have been six inhabitants.[16]

Tolochko started from his reconstruction of Kiev's system of walls. For much of the Podil, where the wall system remained unknown, he plotted archaeological information of settled areas on a map to "fill out" his reconstruction. From this he calculated Kiev's area at 360–380 hectares, making Kiev considerably larger than most European towns. Then, based upon archaeological evidence, he estimated the average size of a *sadyba* at 0.029 hectares and assumed that this form of dwelling was the norm for Kiev. Tolochko also estimated that such dwellings occupied about sixty percent of Kiev's territory. He arrived at this conclusion not on the basis of physical evidence, but by accepting for Kiev what he termed the minimum average dwelling density that demographers had assumed for European towns in the Middle Ages. From the above calculations the total number of dwellings in Kiev turned out to be about eight thousand. Finally, in his latest works Tolochko has used a ratio of six inhabitants to a *sadyba* to arrive at an estimated population of 45,000 to 50,000 for the year 1200.[17]

Tolochko throughout followed procedures common to Western medievalists—except in the all-important final step. Whereas the conventional wisdom has been that the ratio of inhabitants per dwelling should be five or lower, and whereas in his earliest estimate Tolochko had used a coefficient of five, in his latest works he increased it to six, without explaining why Kievan dwellings might have been so populous. Even if we use five as our coefficient, Kiev would have had a population of about 40,000 at a time when in London there lived not many more than 30,000 people. Estimates for Paris, the largest European town north of the Alps, run about 50,000. Kiev was an unusually large city, for the same reasons that medievalists cite for other large towns in Europe. It was an important manufacturing and commercial center, but that in itself cannot account for the numbers. Like many large regional centers in Europe, Kiev was also a portal town, positioned, as it were, at the narrow end of a funnel through which goods flowed up and down the Dnieper, to and from its tributaries. Finally, it was what the medievalist J. C. Russell has called a consuming town. In it a considerable elite of royalty, aristocracy, and their even larger retinues resided, living off the Kievan land and often off neighboring lands.[18]

[16] Regarding methodology, see Russell, *Medieval Regions and their Cities* (Bloomington, 1972), pp. 1–23, and Cipolla, *Fontana Economic History*, 1:28–29. Also Hrushevs'kyi, *Ocherk*, p. 18; M. Iu. Braichevs'kyi in O. K. Kasymenko et al., eds., *Istoriia Kyeva*, vol. 2 (Kiev, 1960), p. 63, and *Istoriia Kieva*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1963), p. 57; Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, p. 105; Tikhomirov, *Towns of Ancient Rus'*, p. 147; Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev*, pp. 182–84.

[17] Tolochko, *Kiev i kievskaia zemlia*, pp. 87–89; idem, *Drevnii Kiev*, pp. 184–88.

[18] Regarding coefficients see Russell, *Late Ancient and Medieval Population*, pp. 121–30; Postan, *Medieval Economy and Society*, pp. 27–31; Tolochko, *Istorychna topohrafiia*, pp. 172–75. See population estimates for London and Paris in Russell, *Late Ancient and Medieval Population*, p. 61, and *Medieval Regions*, pp. 121–30, 146–54; Miskimin, *Economy of Early Renaissance Europe*, pp. 73–74; and Tolochko, *Kiev i kievskaia zemlia*, pp. 88–89. Also see Russell, *Medieval Regions*, pp. 23–38, and Pounds, *Economic History of Medieval Europe*, pp. 254–67, regarding functional and geographical reasons for town size.

Excavations and surveys of fortified places and towns of the Kievan land have produced enough evidence to indicate that they, too, grew both in number and in economic vitality until the invasion. Nothing indicates that border sites disappeared or declined in population, either as a result of Polovtsian raids or for any other reason. In fact, archaeologists have confirmed chronicle passages which say that Kievan princes settled Turkic nomads as allies in border towns in the 12th century. Making much the same point, the art historian Iu. S. Aseev has written that of forty-three towns that were known to have existed in the Kievan land, twenty-five were first mentioned in the chronicles between 1150 and 1240. More complete reporting by chroniclers of events nearer to them in time undoubtedly accounted for some of the supposedly new towns on Aseev's list, but not for all of them. Archaeological testimony and chroniclers' notations about the founding or expansion of this or that site testify that the Kievan land indeed was filling up.[19]

In summary, the evidence runs contrary to any theory that Kiev and its land were decimated demographically or economically, or that there was a major out-migration. In fact, it shows that construction and craft production were vigorous and technologically more complex than before. Our evidence also permits us to write that Kiev was not only a very large town by European standards, but that it and its land were increasing in population. But do these phenomena mean that Kiev was also more prosperous? Probably so. To be sure, after 1300 Europe's towns experienced severe economic crises as their populations continued to grow without a corresponding expansion of their agricultural land fund or technological breakthroughs allowing better exploitation of land already under the plow. An expanding land fund was the motor of economic development in the Middle Ages. There is every reason to believe that before 1240 Kiev was blessed with an excess of it.[20]

By contrast to recent writing about Kiev's economy and demography, historical interpretation of Kievan society and politics in the period under discussion has displayed considerable diversity. Soviet scholarship of the Stalin era took sharp issue with the major pre-1917 interpretations of Hrushevs'kyi and A. E. Presniakov,

[19] Among others, V. I. Dovzhenok, "Pro typy horodyshch Kyivs'koi Rusi," *Arkheolohiia* 16 (1975): 3–14; and Aseev, *Arkhitektura*, p. 132. Tolochko defined its boundaries in summarizing recent work in "Kievskaia zemlia," *Drevnerusskie kniazhestva X–XIII vv.*, ed. L. G. Beskrovnyi et al. (Moscow, 1975), pp. 5–56, and in *Kiev i kievskaia zemlia*, pp. 114–63. By the 1150s the Kievan land no longer included Chernihiv or Pereiaslav. Nasonov, "*Russkaia zemlia*," map opposite p. 64, included lands of Berest'e and Turov-Pinsk, but this is doubtful. Also V. V. Nechytailo, "Pro chas zasnuvannia Iziaslavlia," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1980, no. 11, pp. 117–20; and on the settling of Turks in border towns, S. A. Pletneva, "Pechenegi, Torki i Polovtsy v iuzhnorusskikh stepiakh," *Materialy i issledovaniia po arkheologii SSSR*, no. 60 (1958), pp. 222–26, and "Polovetskaia zemlia," *Drevnerusskie kniazhestva*, ed. Beskrovnyi et al., pp. 275–300. Also Peter B. Golden, "The Polovci Dikii," *Eucharisterion: Essays Presented to Omeljan Pritsak on his Sixtieth Birthday = Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3/4 (1979–80), pt. 1:296–309.

[20] Pounds, *Economic History of Medieval Europe*, pp. 128–39, and Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev*, 190–92.

who argued that late Kievan social structures were relatively simple. For Hrushevs'kyi society was divided essentially into free and unfree. Among the free, the prince's court supported the military elite or *druzhina* from tribute, maintenance, and judicial fees. By the mid-12th century an upper level of nobles, the boyars, came to have their own courts in Kiev or in adjacent towns. Presniakov generally agreed. In such a society, both scholars thought, princely endowments to Kievan churches were primarily in the form of incomes from specified lands rather than from manorial estates. Where this elite managed properties, slaves were the fundamental work force. Peasants, therefore, were for the most part freemen.[21]

By 1939 B. D. Grekov had established a much different model for Kievan Rus', which dominates Soviet historiography to the present day. Grekov wrote that by the 12th century, if not before, Rus' exhibited the socioeconomic and political characteristics of mature feudalism. In Kiev and other towns, princes and their retinues crushed tribal democracy. Propertied merchants and artisans, along with the aristocracy, dominated *veches* (town assemblies)—this occurring first in Kiev. Citing evidence of market production and West European parallels, but without direct evidence, Tikhomirov and Rybakov also claimed that guilds must have existed in Kiev. By the 12th century princes and their retinues had enserfed rural *volosti* and established an estate system of exploitation, the feudal *votchina*.[22]

L. V. Cherepnin and V. T. Pashuto, members of the Moscow academic establishment, have been the leading interpreters of Grekov's model in the post-Stalin period. They, too, insisted that the foundation of feudal power in the countryside was the *votchina*; they classified the *smerd* of the ancient law code known as the *Pravda rus'skaia* as an enserfed peasant; and they viewed the ordinary townsman as a dependent exploited for feudal rent.[23] Grekov had introduced the term

[21] Hrushevs'kyi, *Ocherk*, pp. 301–70; and A. E. Presniakov, *Kniazheskoe pravo drevnei Rusi* (St. Petersburg, 1909), pp. 238–303.

[22] Grekov, *Kievskaia Rus'*, pp. 193–207, and idem, *Krest'iane na Rusi*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Moscow, 1952–54), 1:85–126. Also, *Sovetskaia istoriografiia*, pp. 90–100, 131–45; Tikhomirov, *Towns of Ancient Rus'*, pp. 72–107, 115–44, 149–70; Rybakov, *Kievskaia Rus'*, pp. 430–522.

[23] V. T. Pashuto, "Cherty politicheskogo stroia drevnei Rusi," pp. 13, 20–34; idem, "Osobennosti struktury Drevnerusskogo gosudarstva," pp. 77–127; L. V. Cherepnin, "Obshchestvenno-politicheskie otnosheniia v Drevnei Rusi i Russkaia Pravda," in *Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo i ego mezhdunarodnoe znachenie*, ed. L. V. Cherepnin and V. T. Pashuto (Moscow, 1965), pp. 128–268; L. V. Cherepnin, "K voprosu o kharaktere i forme Drevnerusskogo gosudarstva X–nachala XIII v.," *Istoricheskie zapiski*, no. 89 (1972), pp. 353–408. Also Pashuto, "Istoricheskoe znachenie perioda feodal'noi razdroblennosti na Rusi," pp. 9–17; L. V. Cherepnin, "Puti i formy politicheskogo razvitiia russkikh zemel' XII–nachala XIII v.," pp. 23–50, in *Pol'sha i Rus'*, ed. B. A. Rybakov (Moscow, 1974); V. T. Pashuto, "Mesto Drevnei Rusi v istorii Evropy," in *Feodal'naia Rossiia vo vsemirno-istoricheskom protsesse*, ed. V. T. Pashuto et al. (Moscow, 1972), pp. 188–200; L. V. Cherepnin, "Feodal'naia sobstvennost' na Rusi v period politicheskoi razdroblennosti i skladyvaniia edinogo gosudarstva (do kontsa XV v.)," in *Puti razvitiia feodalizma*, ed. A. N. Novosel'tsev et al. (Moscow, 1972), pp. 188–248. O. M. Rapov, *Kniazheskie vladeniia na Rusi v X–pervoi polovine XIII v.* (Moscow, 1977), traced genealogies and territorial migrations of princely

"disintegration" (*razdroblennost'*) to describe the political fragmentation of Rus' in this period. Cherepnin and Pashuto began to use the term systematically, describing it as a common phenomenon of advanced feudalism from which Rus' was not excepted. Cherepnin wrote of the "princization" (*okniazhenie*) of the land to describe the proliferation of princely seats that emerged in our period in the Kievan and most other lands of Rus'. The only socioeconomic explanation for these developments, they thought, was that the feudal elite had established itself in a dense web of princely (and boyar) towns or fortified places in the countryside from which they ruled over their estates. Our problem with this is that written sources—chronicles, charters, *vitae* and the like—are silent or ambiguous regarding social relations. Archaeology throws little light on these problems. Both historians also projected data about urban life in Kiev and elsewhere through a Marxist prism that to some extent was anachronistic. Cherepnin, for example, meticulously examined cases of unrest in Kiev in 1068, 1113, and 1146 from the premise that they must have been caused by class conflict and, not surprisingly, it turned out to be so. Kiev's *veche* was a forum in which these class antagonisms came to life. Pashuto agreed, but at the same time described the *veche* as an institution of the feudal elite (nobles and propertied townsmen) and the object of popular rage. Pashuto also interpreted the so-called statute of Volodymyr and its later variants as proof that the church had become a major landowner. He cited in support of this the Soviet historian of church law Ia. N. Shchapov. Shchapov, however, was more cautious: only in later editions of the statute, and in several princely charters of the 13th century, did he find evidence of grants other than endowments of income. In summary, this school, and particularly Tikhomirov and Pashuto, concluded that Kiev and the other lands of Rus' experienced the same stages of socioeconomic development, and at the same time, as did West European states.[24] In a recent survey the Leningrad-based scholar M. B. Sverdlov arrived at essentially the same model of mature feudalism for Old Rus'; so, too, did the authors of the new multivolume history of Kiev, published in Russian in Kiev.[25]

In monographs and articles, however, Ukrainian archaeologists and historians have opened up several promising approaches for exploring socioeconomic relations in the Kievan land. Some of them appear to strengthen the position of the Grekov school. Some do not. Because some of the recently unearthed artisanal shops and storehouses were located in the upper town and other areas that were thought to be sites of aristocratic or church courts, Tolochko and Kylyevych tentatively classified

clans. Avoiding analysis, he ascribed their mobility to increasing rivalry for landed income; pp. 232–38.

[24] Pashuto, "Istoricheskoe znachenie," p. 14; and Ia. N. Shchapov, "Tserkov' v sisteme gosudarstvennoi vlasti drevnei Rusi," in *Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo*, ed. Cherepnin and Pashuto, pp. 279–352. *Kniazheskie ustavy i tserkov' v Drevnei Rusi* (Moscow, 1972), especially pp. 310–77.

[25] Kondufor et al., eds., *Istoriia Kieva*, 1:87–91, 103–109, adopted Pashuto's conception of the *veche* as a narrow class organ. Also M. B. Sverdlov, *Genezis i struktura feodal'nogo obshchestva v Drevnei Rusi* (Leningrad, 1983), pp. 106–222.

them as *votchina* shops, implying feudal dependency. Hupalo and others have also made known the existence in the Podil of artisanal *sadyba*, which could have been centers of *votchina* production. Indeed, on the basis of present archaeological information, it is next to impossible to decide what sort of people worked in these shops. M. A. Sahaidak speculated that their artisans may have been bound in some sort of slavery. All others, however, ignored or rejected the possibility of slave-artisans, and Tolochko referred approvingly to Pashuto's ''feudal'' model of social unrest.[26] He also wrote that over time *votchina* craftsmen must have augmented their output sufficiently to begin producing for the market. In addition he astutely reminded us that the finds lent credence to the same paradigm of social development that V. L. Ianin had established for Novgorod. It was one in which boyar families in the 12th and 13th centuries were subjecting commerce and manufactures to their control while competing among themselves for power.[27]

There are, of course, problems with the formulations of Tolochko and his associates. For one, there is limited evidence relating so-called *votchina* wares to the market. More important, we know nothing of the social organization of *posad* craftsmen. Recent excavations, revealing artisanal production in the *sadyba* in the Podil not unlike those of the ''aristocratic'' upper town, makes easy theorizing about the places where various social classes lived and how they interrelated extremely risky. Lastly, Ianin's model implied that unrest in Kiev (about which for the period from 1150 there is scant documentation) would owe more to the rivalry of princes and their factions than to class struggle.

The one Ukrainian archaeologist who clearly challenged the Grekov school was V. I. Dovzhenok, an authority on towns and fortified places in the Kievan land. Dovzhenok some time ago dismissed as unlikely that the nobility and clergy were important landowners devoted to manorial farming. He thought that the primary form of feudal exploitation remained the traditional tribute. Its payers were otherwise freemen.[28] Tolochko, in summarizing recent research showing the emergence of fortified economic centers and towns in the Kievan land during the late 12th

[26] Hupalo, *Podol*, pp. 53–90. Also Kylyevych, *Detinets Kieva*, pp. 122–26; Hupalo, Ivakin, and Sahaidak, ''Doslidzhennia,'' pp. 38–62; Braichevs'kyi, review in *SA*, 1983, no. 3, p. 258; Sahaidak, *Velikii gorod*, p. 86; Tolochko, *Kiev i kievskaia zemlia*, pp. 53, 56, 58, 100–13; idem, *Drevnii Kiev*, pp. 159–60, 194–218; idem, ''Veche i narodnye dvizheniia v Kieve,'' *Issledovaniia po istorii slavianskikh i balkanskikh narodov, ėpokha srednevekov'ia: Kievskaia Rus' i ee slavianskie sosedi*, ed. V. D. Koroliuk et al. (Moscow, 1972), pp. 125–43; and similar results in Vyshhorod described by Tolochko and Sahaidak, ''Vyvchennia,'' p. 108.

[27] V. L. Ianin, *Novgorodskie posadniki* (Moscow, 1962), pp. 54–139; idem, *Ocherki kompleksnogo istochnikovedeniia: Srednevekovyi Novgorod* (Moscow, 1977); idem, *Novgorodskaia feodal'naia votchina* (Moscow, 1981). Also Lawrence Langer, ''V. L. Ianin and the History of Novgorod,'' *Slavic Review* 33 (1974): 114–19, and Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev*, pp. 208–218.

[28] V. I. Dovzhenok, ''O nekotorykh osobennostiakh feodalizma v Kievskii Rusi,'' in *Issledovaniia*, ed. Koroliuk et al., pp. 98–106.

century, agreed with Dovzhenok's basic conclusion that manorialism was relatively unimportant.[29]

Showing a familiarity with Western historical and anthropological writing about the Middle Ages, I. Ia. Froianov of Leningrad has mounted the most sweeping challenge to the Grekov school. In treating basically the same source material as his rivals, Froianov returned to images not unlike those of Hrushevs'kyi and Presniakov: The *druzhina*, he suggested, despite some stratification, retained egalitarian tribal traditions in the 12th century. Estate owning, he maintained, was even then largely alien to its way of life. Its income, which might best have been described as a primitive tax, came from spoils, tribute, juridical fees and maintenance, not from feudal rent. Princely charters in most cases conferred incomes rather than property.[30] The basic unit of rural life in Rus', therefore, was the commune (*obshchina*) of free tax-paying tillers. Following from this, Froianov proposed that the term *smerd* meant different forms of dependency at different times, but that it designated peasant serfs only after 1240. Froianov instead maintained that patriarchal slavery played a central role in the aristocratic culture of Kiev and of Rus' in general, and that in 1240 it was a growing institution. *Zakupy* and other categories of "unfree" mentioned in the *Pravda*, he theorized, lived in a "compromise" form of slavery. They were people of a lord's household rather than feudal dependents. At times, especially in his discussion of the term *smerd*, Froianov's analysis was as speculative as that of his critics.[31] On the whole, however, he has stuck closer to his sources, made more careful analogies, and steered clearer of a priori assumptions.

Froianov made the same sorts of arguments about townsmen. Town dwellers lacked sharp class divisions and remained a cohesive and strong political force. The *veche*, he claimed, was their organ of communal democracy. He took chronicle phrases such as "the men of Kiev" with reference to princely campaigns to mean that townsmen were the rank and file of princely armies. Also citing archaeological finds of swords and other weapons in *posady* of Kiev and other towns of the 12th

[29] Tolochko, "Kievskaia zemlia," pp. 17–56; idem, *Kiev*, pp. 42–66ff.; idem, *Drevnii Kiev*, pp. 130–38. Also Dovzhenok, "Pro typy," pp. 3–14.

[30] I. Ia. Froianov, *Kievskaia Rus': Ocherki sotsial'no-economicheskoi istorii* (hereafter *Kievskaia Rus' S-E*) (Leningrad, 1974), pp. 44–99; and *Kievskaia Rus': Ocherki sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii* (hereafter *Kievskaia Rus' S-P*) (Leningrad, 1980), pp. 64–117. Where nobles purchased property, they used it primarily, Froianov supposed, for livestock breeding and other products of military importance.

[31] Froianov, *Kievskaia Rus' S-E*, pp. 3–43, 98–113, 119–36, 151–58. V. I. Goremykina, *K probleme istorii dokapitalisticheskikh obshchestv* (Minsk, 1970), especially pp. 73–75, also emphasized slavery's importance in pre-Mongol Rus'. The resemblance of Froianov's views to those of Hrushevs'kyi and Presniakov has not escaped the notice of historians of the Grekov school, who have criticized him severely; Sverdlov, above, fn. 9; V. T. Pashuto, "Po povodu knigi I. Ia. Froianova "Kievskaia Rus'. Ocherki sotsialnoi-politicheskoi istorii," *Voprosy istorii*, 1982, no. 9, pp. 174–78; N. F. Kotliar, "Dzherela skladannia na formy feodal'noho zemlevolodinnia v davnii Rusi," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1984, no. 2, pp. 27–37. Also Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev*, pp. 51, 215–16; and Richard Hellie, "Recent Soviet Historiography on Medieval and Early Modern Russian Slavery," *Russian Review* 35 (1976): 1–32.

century, he concluded that townsmen were well armed and a major element in warfare. Froianov noted numerous examples from the 12th and 13th centuries to the effect that Kievan militias put loyalty to the *veche* above the prince. Again, Froianov's reading of the chronicles seems more sensible than that of his detractors, who insisted simply that "the men of" this or that town could only mean members of the prince's *druzhina*. However, Froianov's argument about the significance of archaeological finds of weapons in *posady* loses some of its force if one admits that recent digs suggest the possibility that aristocratic courts could also have existed there. Froianov avoided coming to terms with parts of Ianin's model for Novgorod which work against his argument for the existence of a democratic communal order in the towns of Rus'. Regarding Kiev, in particular, we need more evidence before we can discuss these issues satisfactorily.[32]

In this country George Vernadsky's book *Kievan Russia*, published in 1948, took a middle line between the Grekov school and earlier works.[33] Since then, only recently have scholars writing in English examined these issues. Daniel Kaiser's study of the development of law in Rus', even more than Froianov's work, was rooted in a perceptive reading in anthropology and West European history. With Froianov, Hrushevs'kyi, and other earlier historians, Kaiser concluded that social and political structures in Rus' were simple and, except for slavery, relatively democratic:

> In fact, the 13th-century Russkaia Pravda, by comparison with European so-called barbarian codes of the early Middle Ages, seems relatively antique and unaffected by principles of Roman law such as had altered Germanic law. The comparison implies that late medieval Russian society, like its early Germanic counterparts, was relatively traditional, and demanded no political hierarchy.[34]

At first sight Kaiser's comparison makes good sense. But can it adequately account for the complexity of social relations that must surely have existed in Kiev and numerous other good-sized towns of Rus'? Paul Bushkovitch has joined the debate in a review of Froianov and in an article on boyar residences and landholding. From his reading of the Kiev chronicle and the "extended" *Pravda* of the late 11th and 12th century, Bushkovitch agreed with Cherepnin and those who argued that a significant development of boyar landholding had occurred in Rus'. Bushkovitch also surveyed the voluminous archaeological literature pertaining to rural settlements and forts in the Kievan land and elsewhere for evidence of boyar residences. The evidence, he rightly concluded, was ambiguous, and he suspended

32 Froianov, *Kievskaia Rus' S-P*, pp. 118–43; idem, "K voprosu o gorodakh-gosudarstvakh v Kievskoi Rusi," *Gorod i gosudarstvo v drevnikh obshchestvakh*, ed. V. V. Mavrodin et al. (Leningrad, 1982), pp. 126–40.

33 Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, pp. 13–72, 215–16.

34 Daniel H. Kaiser, *The Growth of Law in Medieval Russia* (Princeton, 1980), p. 164, also 164–88.

judgment regarding the rival claims of Rybakov that every fortified place was a *votchina* center and the cautious statement of Dovzhenok that some boyar forts probably existed near Kiev. While forts sometimes gave birth to villages, Bushkovitch noted that in known villages of the interior, such as Raikovetskoe, scholars have turned up peasant homes but not boyar residences inside the walls.[35] Finally, based on a lifetime of reflection, Omeljan Pritsak has offered a model of the evolution of Rus' drawn on an Eurasian canvas. One of its elements relevant to our discussion is his conviction that in Rus' political and social control rarely transcended personal loyalties. Pritsak has called this model of authority a "patrimonial state" and has suggested several of its unfortunate qualities that enfeebled Kiev's politics and society. The absence of legally defined estates, he has argued, meant that Rus' remained an amorphous society of townsmen and peasants who were vulnerable to disintegration into an elite of prince's men, on one hand, and a slavish majority, on the other.[36] Pritsak's image of Rus' society, if not his pessimism about its weaknesses, places him within the tradition broadly defined by the earlier work of Hrushevs'kyi and the recent contributions of Froianov and Kaiser.

Few problems have been so much in dispute as that of Kiev's relationship to other lands in the century before the Mongol invasion. Its challenge is that of understanding the almost ceaseless princely struggles for Kiev. The problem, however, has not lacked for causal theories. The trouble has been that, more often than not, such theories have been shaped more by the significance that an author wished to see in an age than by a dispassionate examination of events, evidence, and historical context. That this has been the case may in part be explained by the importance of one's answers for understanding the place of Rus' in European (or Eurasian) history, and for understanding the origin or "pre-history" of Belorussian, Russian, or Ukrainian ethnicity.

S. M. Solov'ev and Kliuchevskii were only the latest among Russian historians of the 19th century to construct a national history of Russia which flowed from Kiev to Vladimir-Suzdal'skii and then to Moscow. With succeeding generations, Solov'ev explained, clan unity diminished and,

35 Paul Bushkovitch, "A New Look at Kiev Rus'," *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 10 (1976): 426–30; idem, "Towns and Castles in Kievan Rus': Boyar Residence and Land Ownership in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Russian History* 7 (1980): 251–64, especially 254–64. Archaeological evidence for boyar castles is more plentiful in Smolensk and elsewhere. Whether these were centers of princely administration or *votchiny*, archaeology (and Bushkovitch) could not resolve. On Luka Raikovets'ka, see V. K. Goncharov, *Raikovetskoe gorodishche* (Kiev, 1950).

36 Pritsak, "Kievan Rus'," pp. 7–8.

with it, loyalty to the senior prince of Kiev. Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii of Vladimir-Suzdal'skii sacked Kiev in 1169 and returned home to open a new epoch in Russian history based on principles of territorial sovereignty and absolutism.[37] Into this scheme Kliuchevskii injected economic and demographic arguments about a decline in the economic unity of Rus' centered on Kiev and the migration of people, power, and Russian history to the northeast.[38]

Early in this century Hrushevs'kyi and Presniakov challenged this scheme. Although the largest and the richest land, Kiev had dominated other towns only under strong princes, Hrushevs'kyi argued. He dated Kiev's decline from the 1150s, or even earlier, and ascribed it primarily to political causes. Princes throughout Rus' had become territorial sovereigns. Each of them wished to dominate Kiev, but his rivals would not permit it. Even Hungarian, Polish, and Polovetsian rulers intervened in the resulting strife. Kiev thus experienced a succession of ruling princes from other towns. Hrushevs'kyi also believed that the history of the Kievan land and the other lands of southern Rus' properly belonged to Ukrainian history. Its continuum was in Halych (Galicia)-Volhynia. After the death of Vsevolod "Big Nest" in 1212, the princes of Vladimir-Suzdal'skii, Hrushevs'kyi believed, no longer interested themselves or had much influence in southern Rus'. Their path was that of Russian history. Kiev was Rome to their Gaul.[39] Presniakov explained Kiev's decline in somewhat the same manner. After 1157 leadership of the Monomakh clan of princes came to reside in Vladimir-Suzdal'skii. Kiev suffered a turnover of princes who were often the pawns of others. These alien rulers failed to win the support of local boyars or townsmen and were unable to defend the southern border. By 1212 Kiev and the princes of southern Rus' had lost influence in the north and vice versa. Unlike Hrushevs'kyi, however, Presniakov argued that to 1240 the Rus' shared a sense of unity and a common culture.[40]

Neither Grekov nor Tikhomirov insisted that Kiev was the capital of a monolithic state. Grekov, in fact, doubted that a common ethnicity existed throughout the lands that Kiev had once controlled. Nevertheless, he and Tikhomirov portrayed Kiev's princes as lords of a feudal pyramid of princely relatives and nobles who were their vassals. The fundamental cause of Kiev's decline was that these vassals increasingly combined

[37] Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, 1:512–17, 529–34.

[38] Kliuchevskii, *History of Russia*, 1:182–83, 196–202.

[39] Hrushevs'kyi, *Ocherk istorii kievskoi zemli*, pp. 220–88, 321–44; idem, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, 2:129, 196–99, 209–51; idem, "Traditional Scheme of Russian History," pp. 356–64.

[40] Presniakov, *Russkoe pravo*, pp. 105–15; idem, *Lektsii*, 1:229–39.

patrimonial and sovereign power in their lands. Grekov, in introducing his concept of advanced or mature feudalism, said that it was a process common to feudal structures everywhere. He also repeated traditional arguments for Kiev's decline: that it had lost its commercial importance and that feudal chaos had facilitated the Mongol conquest.[41]

Cherepnin, Tolochko, Rybakov, Pashuto and others, as we have noted, "fleshed out" Grekov's explanation of "feudal disintegration," transforming political fragmentation and social unrest into systemic and "progressive" phenomena. But by insisting on this model they made it difficult to defend their equally strong belief that an "Old Rus'" state and a common "Old Rus'" ethnicity (*narodnost'*) existed in this period. Rybakov wrote many times about this problem, most recently in three separate monographs.[42] Studying princely-boyar values, he said, was the avenue to comprehending 12th-century politics. Early on this elite supported an unitary empire which guaranteed new lands, tribute, and colonization. From the 1130s it shifted its support to local organs of political power in order to protect its estates and to control peasant labor.[43] Kiev lost its hegemony even in southern Rus'. Iurii Dolgorukii of Suzdal' made Pereiaslav-Ukrains'kyi an *udel'* of his family. Vsevolod Ol'hovych became sovereign in Chernihiv. Rybakov theorized that in the second half of the 12th-century rival dynasties of the Ol'hovychi in Chernihiv and the Rostyslavychi of Smolensk (with the support of the princes of Vladimir-Suzdal'skii) settled their mutual claims to Kiev by establishing a duumvirate there. The senior prince would rule in Kiev; the other in the nearby fortified town of Vyshhorod. Lesser towns were parceled out to princely relatives. This arrangement evidently did keep the peace for fourteen years (1180–1194). However, this was exceptional. It cannot sustain Rybakov's thesis of a prolonged period of orderly rule. Even he observed that the political equilibrium in southern Rus' collapsed with Rurik Rostyslavych's death in 1205.[44]

In addition to promoting the compromise of 1180 into an orderly structure of Kievan politics, Rybakov minimized the destructiveness of Bogoliubskii's sack of Kiev in 1169 and all the other sieges, lootings, and

41 Tikhomirov, *Towns of Ancient Rus'*, pp. 212–14, 309–32; Grekov, *Kievskaia Rus'*, 3rd ed., pp. 254–55, 274–82, also the English translation of the 1950 edition, *Kiev Rus* (Moscow, 1959), pp. 642–43.

42 B. A. Rybakov, *"Slovo o polku Igoreve" i ego sovremenniki* (Moscow, 1971); idem, *Russkie letopistsy i avtor "Slova o polku Igoreve"* (Moscow, 1972); idem, *Kievskaia Rus'*. Also Cherepnin, "K voprosu," pp. 353–65; idem "Obshchestvenno-politicheskie otnosheniia," pp. 253ff.; Mavrodin, *Obrazovanie Drevnerusskogo gosudarstva i formirovanie drevnerusskoi narodnosti* (Moscow, 1971), pp. 157–70, 180–90.

43 Rybakov, *Russkie letopistsy*, p. 497; idem, *Kievskaia Rus'*, pp. 473–78.

44 Rybakov, *"Slovo o polku Igoreve,"* pp. 161–62; idem, *Kievskaia Rus'*, pp 469–79.

coups d'état. Feudal wars, he wrote, hindered progressive developments, but did not define them. Therefore, despite the unfavorable political climate, one could find in late Kievan culture the ultimate development of ''Old Rus''' ethnicity—the formation of an unitary culture which defined all of the principalities.[45]

Tolochko differed little from Rybakov in his general assessment of Kiev as a political center. Nevertheless, he evinced an awareness of the pitfalls of this approach, arguing that it was a distortion to evaluate Kiev's position in stark alternatives of ruling capital or declining border town. He also rejected the proposition that Andrei Bogoliubskii steered Vladimir-Suzdal'skii on a separate historical course. Andrei and his successors held objectives, formed coalitions, which included southern princes and Polovetsians, and acted much as did other princes. They differed only in that theirs was a ''young'' feudal state, without a strong aristocratic opposition and, therefore, at first more unified and more successful. After 1212 Vladimir-Suzdal'skii experienced similar processes of fragmentation.[46] The most recent multivolume history of Kiev repeated Rybakov's formulation that ''feudal disintegration'' was not a regressive, but rather a ''beginning stage of developed feudalism.'' Rus' continued to be a ''unitary state organism,'' only with ''new political forms'' that included a universal sense of Kiev's supremacy, a ''power-sharing'' duumvirate, etc. Somewhat contradictorily it then concluded, as had Tolochko, that progressive tendencies could not prevail.[47]

Although cautious in describing Kiev's political standing in Rus', Tolochko argued vigorously for Kiev's central position in the formation of an ''unitary Old Rus' ethnicity.'' Despite dialectical variations within Rus', he maintained that inscriptions in Kiev, when compared to the language of written texts, suggested a common spoken and written Old Rus' language. Tolochko was on much firmer ground when he argued that Kiev was not only the ecclesiastical capital of the ''Old Rus''' land, but inspired a common literature and cultural tradition. As has been noted above, he has demonstrated that one cannot distinguish sharply between the building styles in wood in Kiev and in the northern towns. Also, citing data of other archaeologists concerning the similarity of pottery found in Kiev and elsewhere and the presence of Kievan-made wares in other towns, Tolochko

[45] Rybakov, *Kievskaia Rus'*, pp. 470–71, 476–80.
[46] Tolochko, *Istorychna topohrafiia*, pp. 175–89; idem, *Kiev i kievskaia zemlia*, pp. 166–87; idem, *Drevnii Kiev*, pp. 254–76; and idem, ''Kiev i iuzhnaia Rus' v period feodal'noi razdroblennosti,'' in *Pol'sha i Rus'*, ed. Rybakov, pp. 223–33.
[47] Kondufor et al., *Istoriia Kieva*, 1: 136–43.

concluded that Rus' exhibited a homogeneous material culture. Finally, he observed similar aesthetic and structural innovations in stone and brick buildings of the 12th and 13th centuries in Kiev and other towns. It caused him to repeat the claims of Iu. S. Aseev that Kiev remained the major inspiration of stylistic development in the architecture of Rus'. Putting aside the language question for the moment, it is difficult to quarrel with Tolochko's arguments. Nevertheless, they are troubling when juxtaposed with other of his comments and with statements of N. P. Kotliar admitting the presence of local peculiarities in crafts and building styles throughout Rus'.[48]

Pashuto's formulation of "feudal disintegration" was full of abstractions. The evolution of a "broad-based feudalism and the weakening of the economic and the political power of central authority" demanded new political forms. The concept of "new political forms" turns out to rest on one example, the exceptional compromise of 1180 to which Pashuto lent an inflated significance: there emerged a "new form of administration under which the Kievan capital and the domain owing it sovereignty, the Rus' land," was made the object of collective leadership of the most powerful princes. All princes answering for the fate of "the Rus' land," he continued, "made their laws and pledges of cooperation at all-Rus' assemblies—that is, at congresses."[49] The very title of Pashuto's book, *The Foreign Policy of Old Rus'*, fosters images of a unified state, with foreign office, embassies, and a coherent world view. But Pashuto's "Old Rus'" state was not only defined by an "Old Rus'" ethnicity: it embraced many other peoples who, of course, prospered under Rus' leadership. Pashuto compared the "Old Rus' state" to the Byzantine Empire, among others, and its fate to that of the German Empire of the 12th and 13th centuries.[50] More than these, Pashuto's "state" was an archaic reflection of the official self-image of the USSR.

48 Cf. Tolochko, *Kiev i kievskaia zemlia*, pp. 20–21, 184, 187–205; idem, *Drevnii Kiev*, pp. 98–112; idem, with Iu. S. Aseev, *Arkhitektura Kyivs'koi Rusi* (Kiev, 1969), pp. 114–18; P. P. Tolochko, *Mystetstvo starodavn'oho Kyeva* (Kiev, 1969), pp. 86–102; idem, *Arkhitektura drevnego Kieva*, pp. 136–50. Also P. N. Maksimov, "Obshchenatsional'nye i lokal'nye osobennosti russkoi arkhitektury XII-XIV vv.," in *Pol'sha i Rus'*, ed. B. A. Rybakov, pp. 213–22; Tolochko et al., *Novoe*, pp. 182–92, 349–54, 366–78; Tolochko and Aseev, "Novyi pam"iatnik," pp. 85–87; Braichevs'kyi, review in *SA*, 1983, no. 3, pp. 259–60.

49 Pashuto, "Istoricheskoe znachenie," p. 11; idem, "Cherty," pp. 11–76.

50 V. T. Pashuto, *Vneshniaia politika Drevnei Rusi* (Moscow, 1968), and Omeljan Pritsak's review in *Kritika* 5, no. 2 (Winter 1969): 1–11. Kotliar, "Rol' i znachenie Kieva v istoricheskom razvitii vostochnykh slavian," in Pobol', Sokhan', and Shtykhaŭ, eds., *Kiev*, pp. 15–22, repeated Pashuto's political imagery.

Not surprisingly, Dovzhenok and Froianov explained Kiev's fading political power quite differently and somewhat in the manner of earlier historians. Dovzhenok considered the term "feudal disintegration" a misnomer, because it implied an earlier, in fact nonexistent unity. He recognized that from the 1130s Kiev's political fortunes declined. But they did so within a political context which was largely unchanging and in which control of Kiev remained the focal point of princely ambitions.[51] Froianov, beginning with very different socioeconomic assumptions, likened the political structure of Kiev and other towns of Rus' to the Greek polis. As Kiev's population and economy expanded, it created colony-like subject towns. These towns eventually produced their own aristocracy and civic institutions. Those that could split away to become independent political microcosms of the mother city. Froianov considered that this pattern of subdivision permeated the politics of all lands in Rus'. He explained the readiness of princes and their nobles to seize other towns and to transfer their power there as proof that they were not encumbered with estate management, but instead sought booty and tribute.[52] Froianov has not written about ethnicity, but he assumes a homogeneous sociopolitical culture for Rus'.

Prominent among recent works in English are several articles and a book on early 13th-century politics by Martin Dimnik.[53] Dimnik's chief concern was to revise negative opinions about Mykhailo of Chernihiv. Chief among his targets is Hrushevs'kyi, who doubted that Mykhailo possessed a broad political vision and concluded that he prized Halych over Kiev. Dimnik argues that Mykhailo sought to unite southern Rus' under Kiev and nearly did so, all of which made him at least the equal in stature of the more widely regarded Danylo of Halych. Dimnik may have exaggerated Mykhailo's vision and achievement, but he has shed light on several incidents that heretofore had been misunderstood, owing to the confused chronology in the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle. He also demonstrates that princely ambitions, marriage ties, and alliance systems extended throughout Rus' and involved Polovetsians, Lithuanians, Poles, and Hungarians as

51 V. I. Dovzhenok, "Pro drevn'orus'ku derzhavnist' v period feodal'noi rozdribnenosti," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1959, no. 6, pp. 89–98; idem, "O nekotorye osobennosti," pp. 104–6.

52 Froianov, *Kievskaia Rus', S-P*, pp. 216–34, especially pp. 232–34.

53 Martin Dimnik, *Mikhail, Prince of Chernigov and Grand Prince of Kiev, 1224–1246* (Toronto, 1981), especially pp. 15–126; idem, "Russian Princes and their Identities in the First Half of the Thirteenth Century," *Medieval Studies* 40 (1978): 157–89; idem, "The Siege of Chernigov in 1235," *Medieval Studies* 41 (1979): 387–403; idem, "The Struggle for Control over Kiev in 1235 and 1236," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 21 (1979): 28–44; idem, "Kamenec," *Russia Mediaevalis* 4 (1979): 25–34; idem, "The Place of Rurik Rostislavich's Death: Kiev or Chernigov?," *Mediaeval Studies* 44 (1982): 371–92.

well. Mykhailo, for example, was prince of Novgorod from 1224 to 1231, initially on behalf of his brother-in-law Iurii Vsevolodich of Vladimir-Suzdal'skii. Dimnik also points out that the Novgorod chronicle was better informed about events in Kiev in the early 13th century than was the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle. The legal historian Daniel Kaiser agrees that Rus' had a common political culture, and cites with approval the conclusion of Soviet historians A. A. Zimin and Shchapov that Kiev and Novgorod, Smolensk and Vladimir-Suzdal'skii, Halych and Polatsk shared a legal heritage based on the *Pravda rus'skaia* and a corpus of ecclesiastical law drawn from Byzantine and South Slav sources.[54]

Unlike all of the above works John Fennell's recent book, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia, 1200–1304*, is a straightforward and unusually lucid historical narrative. Although he rarely pauses to analyze the course of events in our period, like Tolochko and Dimnik he, too, thinks that Kiev was still pivotal in the wars of rival princes (Fennell confusingly called them "civil wars") and that northern and southern princes were in the same political "game," a game in which kinship and marriage were often crucial. For Fennell, Mykhailo was a war-lover of narrow vision. His ambitions caused wars in which seven princes ruled Kiev between 1235 and 1240. Neither the Novgorod nor the Halych chronicler, he observed, could explain this strife which weakened everyone. Fennell suggests that greed, a tradition of rivalry for Kiev, and the lure of its wealth were motives enough. Political anarchy, he concluded (as had others before him), facilitated the Mongol destruction of Kiev and other towns.[55]

By contrast Omeljan Pritsak in his essay has sought to make us understand the political anarchy of the period. While the princes of Rus' shared a consciousness of being part of one ruling family, the passage of time put strain on succession within the ruling clan and made politics increasingly volatile. This happened, Pritsak believes, because the clan multiplied its numbers in each generation, loosening bonds of loyalty among distant relatives, creating loyalties to heads of "sub-clans," and thus multiplying the number of claimants to be senior prince. Also, each time a senior prince died, political stability might be shattered by a succession crisis. Although Kiev remained the center of Orthodoxy that provided Rus' with a common

[54] Cf. with Shchapov, "Tserkov'," pp. 279–352, and idem, *Vizantiiskoe i iuzhnoslavianskoe pravovoe nasledie na Rusi v XI-XIII vv.* (Moscow, 1978); and with A. A. Zimin and A. G. Poliak, "Znachenie Russkoi Pravdy dlia razvitiia russkogo, ukrainskogo i belorusskogo feodal'nogo prava," *Sovetskoe gosudarstvo i pravo*, 1954, no. 4, pp. 116–22.

[55] John Fennell, "Russia on the Eve of the Tatar Invasion," *Oxford Slavonic Papers* 14 (1981): 1–13; idem, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia, 1200–1304* (London and New York, 1983), pp. 1–6, 22–44, 71–76.

high culture and written language, it was no longer its economic capital (as organizer of an unitary trade network down the Dnieper to Byzantium). Under these circumstances patrimonial values contributed to a fragmentation of power, eventually resulting in a conglomerate of emerging local states.[56] Neither Dimnik, Kaiser, Fennell, nor Pritsak find the reigning Soviet orthodoxy about the progressive nature of the period at all convincing.

Although couched in the broadest of generalities, Pritsak's brief essay offers guidelines for the investigation of ethnicity. Like Hrushevs'kyi, Pritsak views Kiev and the other southern towns as an increasingly self-contained economic and political entity. That this was also the fate of Kievan culture was the tentative conclusion of Roman Serbyn's analysis of studies by Soviet anthropologists, archaeologists, and linguists about ethnicity in pre-Mongol Rus'. Serbyn showed that the evidence that Soviet scholars presented for the ethnic unity of Rus' could be interpreted to argue that styles of craft production and monumental building, speech patterns, and other attributes of ethnicity were actually becoming more diverse. Even Kotliar, who on most issues agreed with Rybakov, appreciated that Rus' in this period experienced contradictory impulses; a cultural awareness of unity that later inhibited the development of Belorussian, Russian, and Ukrainian ethnicity, and the centrifugal economic and political trends that were its "preconditions."[57]

In evaluating the variety of approaches to understanding Kiev's place in Rus' that we have discussed, the obvious consensus is that Kiev was no longer an independent, sovereign city. More often it was the object of aggression by rival princes operating from their own independent lands. In this respect the insistence of historians of the Grekov school that princes and their *druzhiny* formed local loyalties cannot be denied (however much one might disagree with their reasons for saying so). But to understand what this meant in our period one must appreciate Dovzhenok's (and in his time Hrushevs'kyi's) reminder that it was anachronistic to think that Kiev was a capital city at any time in its history. Once there came to be rivalry between claimants to be senior prince and, even more, when there no longer was a clearly recognized senior clan within the ruling family, Kiev's

[56] Pritsak, "Kievan Rus'," pp. 4–7.

[57] Pritsak, "Kievan Rus'," pp. 4–8; Roman Serbyn, "The Character of the Rus Commonwealth, 1140–1200" (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 1975), pp. 27–44; N. F. Kotliar, "Ideia davnorus'koi iednosti v istorychnomu rozvytku rosiis'koho narodiv," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1980, no. 9, pp. 19–22.

strategic position and its great wealth and manpower made it the object of a competition among all the princes. And if the princes prized booty and tribute over the rewards of estate management, as Froianov would have us believe, then we can understand why the struggle for Kiev became so vicious. By the mid-12th century neither custom nor institutional barriers were strong enough to restrain the primitive motives which Fennell ascribed to warring princes. That they caused political anarchy was because the major princely alliances were evenly matched.

As Soviet archaeologists have argued so well, Kiev remained the preeminent economic and cultural center in Rus'. Yet, excluding Tolochko, they have ignored the most important reason for Kiev's cultural hegemony: it was the metropolitanate, the ecclesiastical capital, and thus the nerve center of high culture in Rus'. As more of the peoples owing alliegance to Rus' princes became Orthodox Christians up to 1240, Kiev's cultural realm grew that much more. It is also safe to say that clerical writers exhibited a clearer and more consistent consciousness of the unity of Rus' than any other group. However, the church's language, cultural tradition, and most of its literature did not constitute a Rus' culture; it belonged to that considerable part of the Orthodox world for which the written language was Church Slavonic.

This brings us to the question of whether one can accept the argument that there was an Old Rus' language. It is well known that religious texts in Church Slavonic gradually took on elements of local speech as they were translated and copied. This was even more true of popular genres such as hagiography and the like, and of compositions produced in Rus' by local clerics whose knowledge of Church Slavonic might be strongly infiltrated by localisms. Secondly, as D. Worth, B. I. Uspenskii, and others have pointed out, different genres—law, correspondence, chronicles, hagiography—had their own normative language, on which local custom and dialects also produced peculiarities of morphology, phonology, and lexicon. On one hand we are left with a legitimate question as to whether there was one or several operative languages. And even if we answer that they constituted one language, we are left with serious questions about the significance of differences in regional patterns of speech. Linguists all admit the existence (if not the shape) of dialectical belts which stretched across Rus'. Even if differences between belts were minor (and this is debatable), it remains difficult to agree with Soviet scholars who argue that over such a vast, multiethnic, and thinly populated land the extremes could also be minor. Furthermore, these "dialects" were undergoing morphological, phonological, and other changes (about the timing and their cause there is also debate), some of which were common to Slavic speech outside of

Rus'. Might it not then be as logical to see these as differences and changes in the evolution of Common Slavic, as George Y. Shevelov has suggested, than as variants of an Old Rus' language?[58] In answering these questions it is also useful to remind ourselves of the flux that characterized linguistic development elsewhere in Europe in the same period.

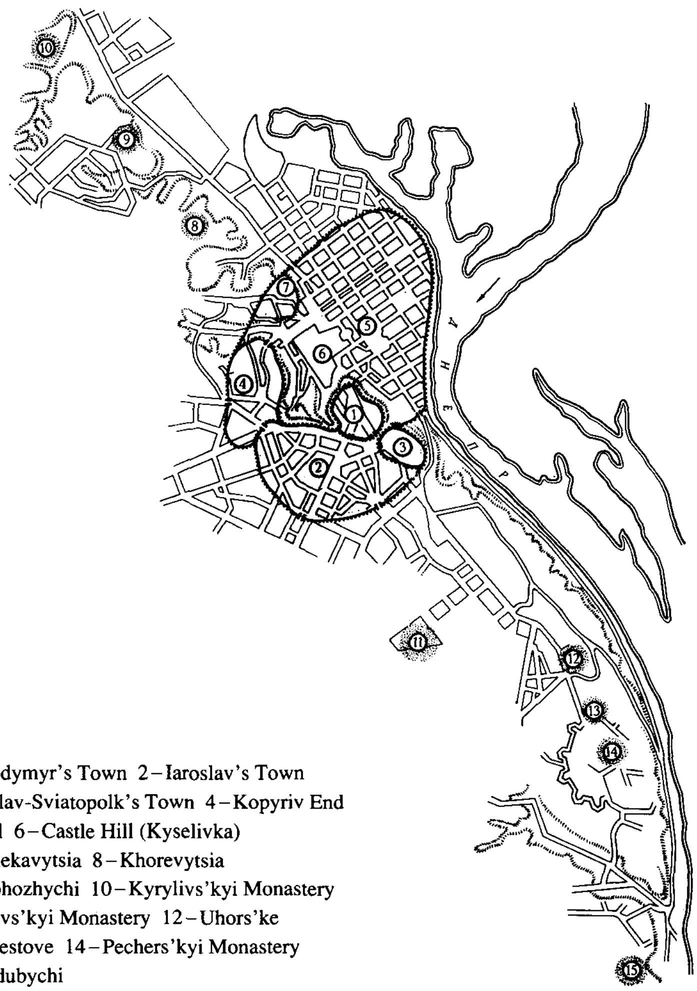
Any appraisal of recent scholarship about Kiev must begin with an appreciation of the achievement of Soviet archaeology. It has yielded important information about the size, topography, and the demographic development of Kiev and other towns in its land. It has also greatly enlarged our knowledge of Kievan manufactures and building. Although archaeological layers in most of Kiev are poorly preserved compared to those of Novgorod, further successful excavations may be predicted. These discoveries in turn have assisted scholars in making generalizations about Kiev's population, society, and politics. Tolochko and Froianov drew in part from this evidence to revise in important ways existing assumptions about Kiev's sociopolitical structures. Then, too, recent works have raised new questions about spacial and social interrelationships of social classes in Kiev. Finally, Soviet archaeologists have contributed relevant evidence and have argued with insistence that an Old Rus' consciousness existed before 1240. While Soviet interpretations of ethnicity remain unsatisfactory, Froianov's work and Kaiser's study of medieval law suggest that a greater familiarity with comparative anthropology (and history) offer the best prospects for future investigations. Perhaps the first step should be to establish a more meaningful definition of ethnicity. Also, both Soviet and non-Soviet historians would be wise to give greater attention to the multiethnic character of the Kievan land and of Rus'. This holds both for an understanding of their history to 1240, and for an understanding of the subsequent development of Belorussian, Russian, and Ukrainian ethnicity.

Roosevelt University

[58] In the large literature on the language question, see Dean Worth, "Was there a 'Literary Language' in Kievan Rus?," *Russian Review* 34 (1975): 1–9; B. I. Uspenskii, "K voprosu o semanticheskikh vzaimootnosheniiakh sistemno-protivopostavlennykh tserkoslavianskikh i russkikh form v istorii russkogo iazyka," *Wiener slavistisches Jahrbuch* 22 (1976): 92–100; H. G. Lunt, "On the Language of Old Rus: Some Questions and Suggestions," *Russian Linguistics* 2 (1975): 269–81; George Y. Shevelov, "Mezhdu praslavianskim i russkim," a review of G. A. Khaburgaev, *Stanovlenie russkogo iazyka* (Moscow, 1980), in *Russian Linguistics* 6 (1981/82): 353–76; and idem, "Evolution of the Ukrainian Literary Language," in Rudnytsky, ed., *Rethinking*, pp. 216–31. Also Kotliar, "Ideia," pp. 22–24.

Fig. 1

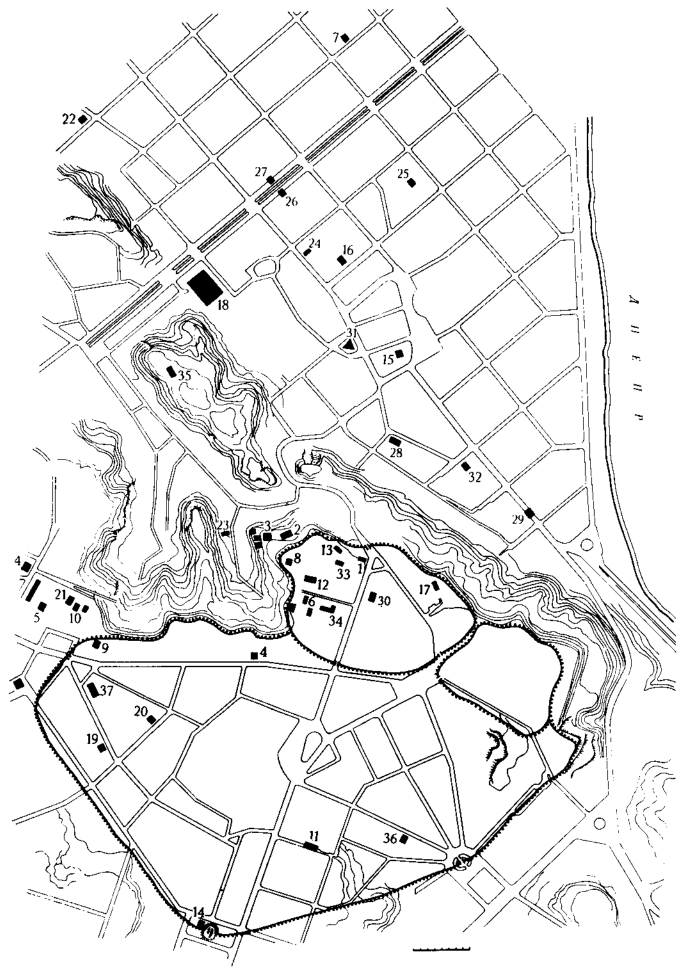
The Territory of Pre-Mongol Kiev as Reconstructed from Archaeological and Written Sources by P. P. Tolochko in [P. P. Tolochko et al., eds.], *Novoe v arkheologii Kieva* (Kiev, 1981), p. 33



1–Volodymyr's Town 2–Iaroslav's Town
3–Iziaslav-Sviatopolk's Town 4–Kopyriv End
5–Podil 6–Castle Hill (Kyselivka)
7–Shchekavytsia 8–Khorevytsia
9–Dorohozhychi 10–Kyrylivs'kyi Monastery
11–Klovs'kyi Monastery 12–Uhors'ke
13–Berestove 14–Pechers'kyi Monastery
15–Vydubychi

Fig. 2

Excavations in Kiev, 1965–1978
Source: [P. P. Tolochko et al., eds.], *Novoe v arkheologii Kieva* (Kiev, 1981), p. 9.



A Landmark of Kurbskii Studies

EDWARD L. KEENAN

ANDREJ MICHAJLOVIČ KURBSKIJ: LEBEN IN OSTEUROPÄISCHEN ADELSGESELLSCHAFTEN DES 16. JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Inge Auerbach.* Munich: Verlag Otto Sagner, 1985. 499 pp. 185 DM cloth, 160 DM paper.

Inge Auerbach's remarkable *tour de force* of archival inventiveness provides an important addition to our knowledge about the life of the military servitor class in the Ruthenian territories in the latter half of the sixteenth century, but its primary importance lies elsewhere: it should lead, at last, to a fundamental reconsideration of what scholars have imagined about Andrei Kurbskii, about his putative correspondent Ivan IV, and about sixteenth-century Muscovite cultural and political life in the most general terms. It is at the same time a profoundly perplexing work, whose author seems inclined to ignore the significance of her own indisputable and fundamentally important findings, and in one crucial case to explain them away entirely.

I do not expect to be the only reader to conclude that the most important result of Dr. Auerbach's industry is her amply documented and apparently unassailable conclusion that Andrei Kurbskii lived and died unable to write the Cyrillic alphabet (pp. 375-79), but few will have been more grateful to her for establishing that helpful fact, to whose significance I shall return. Others may find most thought-provoking the massive documentary evidence Dr. Auerbach has gathered to paint a picture of the banality and nastiness of Andrei Kurbskii's life in the home he chose, for a few gold coins, over his native Muscovy.

But a greater number of readers will be perplexed, as I have been, by the fact that throughout the book the author does what she can to avoid the logical consequences of these conclusions, which seem not to have been a part of the author's original plan for the monograph. Her intentions, as the title and subtitle would indicate, were to conclude her long and helpful labors in the study of what she has elsewhere called "Kurbskiana" with a "documentary" biography of Andrei Kurbskii, and to use the extensive evidence of Kurbskii's life as a Ruthenian landlord as the basis of observations about the Polish-Lithuanian and East-European *Adelsgesellschaft* in general. I am not the one to evaluate her accomplishment in the latter undertaking (I understand that my colleague Frank E. Sysyn will do so in a forthcoming issue of the *Russian Review*); I find it hard to resist commenting upon the former.[1]

[1] Dr. Auerbach has for almost two decades been occupied with Kurbskii, and she has provided a number of excellent publications and comments on the Kurbskii materials: she has edited the *Novyj Margarit*, which she, together with many others, thinks to have been written

One may speculate on the reasons why Muscovites before roughly 1600 seem not to have chosen to leave any substantial written record of individual life as such—private or public, existential, political, or legal—but there is no disputing the fact itself. As a consequence, it seems unlikely that, without recourse to non-Muscovite sources, we shall ever be able to construct any biography of a sixteenth-century Muscovite figure that will begin to satisfy the modern demands of that problematic genre. This circumstance is vividly illustrated by the stark contrast between the abundant documentation portraying Andrei Kurbskii's life in emigration, of which Dr. Auerbach makes exhaustive use, and the strikingly sparse record of the Muscovite period of his life. One is immediately reminded of the case of Michael Trivolis, *alias* Maksim Grek, whose personality and culture are far less mysterious as a result of Elie Denissoff's discovery of some documentary evidence about Trivolis's life in Italy and Greece.[2] In both cases—albeit as the product of different circumstances—documentation produced abroad, where Kurbskii and Maksim were relatively obscure individuals, provides more vivid and convincing glimpses of recognizable personality than that produced in Muscovy, where they were, according to hoary tradition, important and widely known personages.

It strikes me that Dr. Auerbach may not have reflected sufficiently deeply upon this seeming paradox: had she done so, she might have reexamined the exiguous Muscovite evidence much more skeptically in light of the relatively abundant record of Kurbskii's behavior in exile. Instead she has done the opposite. She undertakes to force the information she has so painstakingly gleaned from the Polish and Soviet archives into the conceptual frame of a historiographical tradition recklessly dependent upon a proposition that she herself makes untenable: that Kurbskii was an erudite humanist and the author, in particular, of the "History of Ivan IV." As a consequence, she ends, after a massively meticulous presentation of all of the evidence, by giving interpretations of both periods of Kurbskii's life that are unconvincing and at variance with her own specific conclusions based upon the archival record.

Had Dr. Auerbach chosen to stick to the "documentary" witnesses for Kurbskii's early life (which are limited, as she demonstrates, to a few notices in military records), adding only the more probable speculations about the man that could be based upon the post-emigration materials, she might well have concluded that Kurbskii was, in Muscovy as in emigration, an ambitious but undistinguished

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by Kurbskii (*Andrej Michajlovič Kurbskij. Novyi Margarit. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe auf der Grundlage der Wolfenbütteler Handschrift,* = Bausteine zur Geschichte der Literatur bei der Slaven, Bd. 9 (Editionen 4) Bd. 1–3 [Geissen, 1976–]; not all fascicles have appeared); she has analyzed what she takes to be Kurbskii's thought ("Die politischen Vorstellungen des Fürsten Andrej Kurbskij," *Jahrbücher für Geschichtes Osteuropas* 17, no. 4 [1969]: 170–86); she has participated in the debate about the authenticity of the Kurbskii-Groznyi materials, and made a number of other contributions, not all of which, quite modestly, she lists in her otherwise quite comprehensive bibliography.

[2] E. Denissoff, *Maxime le Grec et l'Occident: Contribution à l'histoire de la penseé réligiuese et philosophique de Michel Trivolis* (Paris and Louvain, 1943). Jack V. Haney has made use of this material in his *From Italy to Muscovy: The Life and Works of Maxim the Greek*, Humanistische Bibliotek, Reihe 1, Band 19 (Munich, 1973).

soldier-squire, a litigious schemer, an adequate warrior but a disastrously bad landlord who was never more than two steps ahead of his creditors—when he was not pursuing them at even closer range. In many of these traits Kurbskii reminds one rather insistently of antebellum cotton planters;[3] one wonders whether he was distinguishable from the generality of his Muscovite cousins and confreres, about whom we know even less than we do about "Andrei Jaroslawski." And of course we can say nothing—repeat, nothing—with confidence about Kurbskii's inner world, since there is no textual record of what Kurbskii said, or wrote, or thought about his own life.

Now had Dr. Auerbach applied her archivist's caution and remarkable energies to the evidence of Kurbskii's Muscovite period in such a way, we should be even more greatly in her debt than we already are for the book before us, because there is almost nothing in the scholarly literature that succeeds in conveying the homely realities of the life of the Muscovite warrior elite; the glimpse of Kurbskii provided by the Ruthenian documentation, exceptional as it may be, gives a vantage point from which better to understand what our limited sources do tell us about him and his Muscovite colleagues.

Regrettably, she has undertaken instead to present a detailed picture—a pre-Raphaelite portrait—of Kurbskii in Muscovy, less of whose detail and color are taken from her documentary materials than from the *spuria* whose authenticity her main finding further undermines, and from the uncritical speculations of others upon those texts. The primary consequence of this unfortunate decision is that this portion of the book is not particularly original or interesting, and might give the impression of shoring up, with a new scaffolding of footnotes, many illogical and pernicious myths about Kurbskii and Muscovy.

Fortunately, Dr. Auerbach devotes most of her book to the post-emigration period of Kurbskii's life: here one feels, at almost every step, the firm ground of the archival record. It is true, of course, that not all of that record is new to scholars,[4] but she has accomplished an astounding feat of ferreting out and collating the documentary traces of Kurbskii's life in emigration. There is a surprising amount of it, because Kurbskii emigrated to a state whose cultural and institutional development had generated a maze of legal restrictions and requirements that he probably never fully understood, and surrounded him with bailiffs, clerks of the court, and notaries public; we should be grateful that someone so meticulous and skilled has been able to devote her considerable energies to amassing this documentary record.

[3] See, for example, Eugene Genovese's review of Thomas Rosengarten, *Tombee: Portrait of a Cotton Planter*, in the *New York Times Book Review*, 20 July 1986, p. 1.

[4] Ivanishev published many of the most important documents over a century ago: N. D. Ivanishev, *Zhizn' kniazia Andreia Mikhailovicha Kurbskogo v Litve i na Volyne*, 2 vols. (Kiev, 1849). Ivanishev published the equivalent of 300 pages; Auerbach has reviewed that material, and added much more. Ivanishev's title reflects a terminological problem that will here, for the sake of convenience, be resolved by placing inverted commas around the word "Lithuania." After 1569, the territories in question were no longer part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: they were annexed to the Kingdom of Poland.

It should be said, however, that Dr. Auerbach's presentation of Kurbskii's life in Volhynia suffers from her reliance upon two presumptions that seem not to have been properly reexamined once the massive archival work had been completed. First (one hates to repeat oneself, but it is sometimes necessary), Dr. Auerbach here as elsewhere continues to assume that Kurbskii somehow composed all of the works attributed to him by the nineteenth-century scholarly literature. This assumption leads her to use passages of the texts in question as the basis of speculation about Kurbskii's life in "Lithuania." (I found particularly imaginative the discussion [p. 228] of Kurbskii's marriage and subsequent divorce from Mar'ia Olshanskaia: Auerbach speculates, first, that since Mar'ia knew how to read and write [*her* signature we do have in Cyrillic!], "[h]ier mag eine gemeinsame Basis für die Ehe gelegen haben" [but Kurbskii was *il*literate!], then that chapters of the *Novyi Margarit*, which is in any case a compilation of translations, were somehow inspired by Kurbskii's marital difficulties.)

A second conviction, this one undeclared as well as unexamined, seems to be that Kurbskii was rather a nicer bloke than any of the documentation would lead one to believe. It is true that the biographer should be permitted a certain latitude in forgiving the peccadillos of his or her subject, but in the present case it seems that Dr. Auerbach mistakenly attempts to justify or explain away behavior that is, unless we have the sources wrong, quite indefensible. There can be no doubt that Kubskii lived the latter part of his life in a very litigious society—indeed, almost all that we know of his life in the Commonwealth is derived ultimately from the records of the suits and counter-suits in which he and his agents were constantly becoming entangled. It should also be said that in some cases, such as that arising from the allegation that Kurbskii attempted to procure the murder of his wife, the evidence is ambiguous (although not insubstantial) and the possible motivations of the several witnesses quite obscure. Nonetheless, Auerbach's treatment of this and some much less questionable evidence—that revealing Kurbskii's apparent betrayal of his comrade Zaborowski, for example (Kurbskii, asked to obtain ransom money by selling a portion of Zaborowski's property, did so, but apparently never sent the money to the Crimea), goes far beyond giving her protagonist a reasonable benefit of the doubt. Auerbach ends her gingerly treatment of this episode by concluding only "Ob er [Kurbskii] versucht hat, seinem Freund . . . auszulösen, lässt sich nicht feststellen" (p. 182). But more than a century ago Ivanishev concluded that Kurbskii had *not* ransomed Zaborowski, who died in captivity. (Ivanishev, vol. 2, p. 290.) It is, of course, possible that Ivanishev based his conclusion upon a simple death notice, and, more generally, not beyond imagining that, as Backus claimed nearly two decades ago, Ivanishev was somewhat unfair to Kurbskii in his selection of the "Lithuanian" documentation—but Auerbach's failure to pursue and resolve these matters casts doubt upon the objectivity of other portions of her generally sympathetic treatment of Kurbskii.

Another example of the author's oddly justificatory treatment of her subject is found in her analysis of the infamous abuse of Jews on Kurbskii's estates (pp. 134-35; 260ff.). Details of this maltreatment (the victims were held for an undisclosed time—apparently several days—in a water-filled pit and emerged bleeding from

leech-bites) have been known since Ivanishev's publication of the relevant documents; Auerbach provides some new evidence. The narrative is complex, both because of the juridical nature of the documentation and because what was at issue, in part, was whether the Jews were the king's subjects or Kurbskii's. It should also be said that it was Kurbskii's agent, Ivan Kelemet, and not the prince himself, who conducted this particular exercise—although Kelemet claimed throughout that he had Kurbskii's orders to do so.

The nature of our documentation, then, and the historian's responsibility to refrain from moralizing, prevent us from declaring Kurbskii an anti-semite in the squalid modern sense of the term, however much consideration of the totality of evidence of his character impels one to the thought. But neither is there cause to defend him, as Auerbach does (Kurbskii's "Herrschaftsstil" was rough and ready; his translations [!] show him to be tolerant; there were other anti-semites in "Lithuania" at the time; etc.). Here as elsewhere, it seems that she has an image of Kurbskii the great humanist and liberal aristocrat that no amount of contradictory evidence can alter, and no absence of evidence can efface.

Nowhere is the doggedness of Dr. Auerbach's eupeptic portrayal of Kurbskii more arresting than in the sections that deal with the inconvenient matter of Kurbskii's life-long illiteracy in Cyrillic. This finding, which Dr. Auerbach seems to have demonstrated beyond the shadow of doubt, may seem to many readers the most significant contribution of the book because it leads ineluctably to the conclusion that the many erudite and bookish Slavonic texts attributed to Kurbskii simply cannot have been composed by him.

There have been those in the past, of course, who have wondered about these texts, and about the general state of literacy among members of the Muscovite warrior class. But the nature of Muscovite documentation is such that one could barely hope to be able to prove the occasional member of that group literate; to disprove such a proposition was beyond us. The happenstance of Kurbskii's defection, however, provides a kind of documentation unheard of in Muscovy, and Auerbach—to a point—makes the most of it. Using notarial documents, including sworn affidavits inserted in the records of trials, she has provided what appear to me to be incontrovertible proof that Kurbskii was—or at least repeatedly *claimed* to be—totally illiterate in Cyrillic.

These inescapable proofs were generated, as is so often the case, by the indefatigable clerical regularity of the Commonwealth's legal and notarial system, whose guardians demanded, in accordance with the law, that documents submitted for juridical consideration in the territories in question be written in Cyrillic—*ruskim pismom*.

Now Kurbskii, as Auerbach makes clear, employed scribes and amanuenses who prepared the texts of his rather considerable volume of legal paper, but there was a further problem: many legal documents had to be signed by the principle in person—and in Cyrillic. This, alas, Kurbskii never learned to do.

It is true, oddly enough (Auerbach doesn't attempt to explain this peculiar fact) that after a time in his new homeland, Kurbskii trained himself to produce a childish signature in *Latin* characters, but he could not, apparently, even scratch out

''Kurbskii'' (or, as he probably would have spelled it—with innocent disregard of the etymology—''Kurpskii'') in Cyrillic. This being the case, the law required that, in addition to his exertions as a Latinist, he declare his reasons for not using Cyrillic. And so he did on many occasions, as, for example, in 1571, when he declared that he had given his agent his power of attorney ''pod pechat'ju moeju i s podpisom ruki moee vlastnoe litery po latyne pisanye, a dlja togo izh sam po ruskij pisati nevmeju'' (p. 375, fn. 2).

Auerbach discusses this and much other relevant evidence, and comes (p. 379) to what appears to be the only justifiable conclusion: ''. . . russische (kyrillische) Unterschriften kennen wir von Kurbskij nicht. *Er wird wohl diese Schrift nicht gelernt haben.* Spekulationen über eigenhändige Glossen in Kurbskijs russischen Manuskripten bleiben im luftleeren Raum'' [my italics].

Such would seem to be the only conclusion possible, and one would expect it to be extended: speculations about Kurbskii's authorship of the linguistically and thematically complex polemical and historical works attributed to him have no place in the world of real things. But at this point Auerbach comes up with a surprise: she spends the remainder of the chapter (12 pages) attempting to explain not how it happened that anyone thought Kurbskii an author in the first place, but by what means Kurbskii contrived, despite the inconvenient handicap of illiteracy, to compose the works traditionally attributed to him!

These speculations take the form primarily of attempts to identify the person or persons who might have served Kurbskii as ''ghostwriter'' (one notes with interest the penetration of this peculiar Anglicism into scholarly German). They are energetic and inventive, but they cannot save Auerbach from the failure that elementary logic and the cultural realities of Kurbskii's milieu make inescapable: since, as she has just demonstrated, Kurbskii was not only illiterate, but *analphabetic* in all languages of Orthodox Slavic letters, it is simply inconceivable in the cultural context in which he lived that he could have dictated, suggested, overseen, initiated, or understood the production of texts of the type attributed to him—whether the letters to Ivan, the *History* about him or the various translations from Chrysostom or Cicero.

All of Auerbach's attempts to avoid this conclusion are unconvincing—and, one cannot help suspecting, unconvinced: Ambrosius Szadkovius *might* have introduced Kurbskii to Latin (''dürfte Kurbskij bei Ambrosius . . . in Latein unterrichtet worden sein''); the person who *might* have been the most likely ''ghostwriter,'' Kurbskii's countryman and the head of his *Kanzlei* Ivan Kelemet, was also, alas, illiterate (''des Schreibens unkundig war''); the Muscovite monk Dionisii, about whose role in translations attributed to Kurbskii Auerbach thinks one can surmise (''vermuten''), was a prisoner of war [!] and in any case all that we know about him is that he fled from Kurbskii's estate (pp. 385, 173). As potential authors of the texts attributed to Kurbskii, these characters are ghosts indeed, and Kurbskii, after Auerbach's research, is a ghost writer.

It may seem perverse to dwell at such length upon a finding that is, in fact, differently interpreted by its author, and upon such a small portion of what is a formidable and rich monograph about the life of an Orthodox landlord/warrior in the

Ruthenian lands. I have done so, however, because Auerbach's demonstration that Kurbskii was hopelessly illiterate is, for historians of Muscovy, so fundamentally important, and because not all of them will want to penetrate this hefty volume. In the longer perspective of the evolution of our historiography this work will be seen as a major milestone, thanks to the energy, resoluteness, and honesty of its author in providing the documentary basis for all subsequent discussions of the life and accomplishments of Andrei Kurbskii.

Harvard University

LIKARS'KI TA HOSPODARS'KI PORADNYKY XVIII ST. Edited by *V. A. Peredrijenko.* Pam''jatky ukrajins'koji movy. Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1984. 128 pp. 1.90 rub.

This new item in the valuable series of old texts of the Ukrainian language (*Pam''jatky ukrajins'koji movy*) makes accessible three practical guidebooks which were, on the whole, written in a language closer to the vernacular than other pre-nineteenth-century texts in the Ukraine. One is a longer medical manuscript written in the Hadjač Regiment of the Hetmanate by 1759 (its title translates as "Medicines described with which everyone can help himself at home without a physician"), accompanied by shorter medical and astrological texts ("Description of the blood, i.e., Description of the more important veins, and from which one's blood can be let out for what disease"; "Home pharmacy, i.e., the method of making special medicines"; and "People born under a zodiacal sign in every month: Dangerous years"). The other two are small manuscripts from the most western Ukrainian territory, the Sjanik (Sanok) county of the Ruthenian palatinate (now in Poland): "A therapeutic book of many medicines," written in the second half of the eighteenth century and once owned by the Svydzyns'kyj family of clergymen; and "This practice or information for industrious farmers is very useful; from it everyone can learn the schedule of the next year's winter, spring, summer and fall, even of every month and day, as well as when to expect a change in air in the sky and in the harvest on the land," written ca. 1740 by someone from the same family. The latter manuscript also contained another text, "Practice for diligent and careful farmers" (1740), which is omitted from the publication under review (no reason is given).

The volume's editor, V. Peredrijenko, says in the preface that the Hadjač manuscript has many Polonisms from "a source which was apparently written in the Polish language" (p. 13), which he otherwise makes no attempt to identify. Furthermore, Polish sources can also be assumed for the two Galician manuscripts. One of them can tentatively be identified on the basis of S. Estreicher's Polish bibliography: *Praktyka gospodarska o Poznawaniu Własności Roku, Urodzaiów, Odmian Powietrza przez doświadczenia zebrana. Z ktorey Każdy wprzod poznać może, co za postanowienie przyszłego Roku, każdego Miesiąca I Dnia, ma bydź, wszystkim Ekonomistom a zwłaszcza czułym gospodarzom bardzo pozyteczna. Roku Pańskiego 1778.*[1] Its title is strikingly similar to that of the Ukrainian text of ca. 1740 (shared words are italicized; hard signs have been dropped): "*Praktyka* sijâ, yly ouvîščenije pracovytŷm" *hospodarem'', vel'my požytočnaja, z'' kotoroj každŷj poznaty možet''*

[1] S. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 25, Cracow, 1913, p. 214.

postanovlenye pryšloho roku zymy, vesny, lîta y ōseny, navet'' *koždoho msca y dnja*, jako y koly *otmînnosty vozduxov''* nebesnyx'' y *ouro žaev''* zemnyx'' spodîvatysja.'' The Polish book contained ''Własności każdego miesiąca'' (Properties of each month; in rhymes, pp. 70–76/77), which may correspond to the ten leaves of the Ukrainian manuscript (in prose) that are arranged by months.

In the preface Peredrijenko also gives a useful list of other Ukrainian ''scientific-practical'' works of the 16th–18th centuries (pp. 6–7). It should be supplemented by *Nazyratel'* (Supervisor), a Ukrainian translation of the Polish version of Petrus Crescentius's book on the household (1549), which appeared in a sixteenth-century Russian copy (published in Moscow in 1973); and by *Pomuščnyk'' u domuvstvî y meždu ljud'my* (A help at home and among people) by M. Fedorovyč, from Myxajlivci (Mihalovce) in Transcarpathia (1791), which was published in excerpt by H. Stryps'kyj (1919), I. Pan'kevyč (1923), and N. Lelekač and M. Gryga (1943).

In the same preface Peredrijenko characterizes (pp. 11–13) some vernacular features of the texts, not always professionally. For example, he includes *pokryvčana* 'of nettle' among cases with *ry* from the former *r̥* (in an open syllable); yet *pokrzywa* 'nettle' also appears in Polish, which does not have this kind of vocalic development. Peredrijenko cites *tŷlko* 'only' as an example of the *o > i* change, whereas in fact this form comes from Polish *tylko*. The general Slavic results of the second palatalization (for example, *na dorozî* 'on the road') Peredrijenko also takes to be features of the ''vernacular''; apparently his criterion for determining vernacular from non-vernacular is the Russian language which has lost those palatalized reflexes. Similarly, he considers the preservation of the *-ty* suffix in infinitives to be an instance of the vernacular, again measured against his only criterion, the Russian language. He adds that *-t'* infinitives also occur, but all his examples have *t* in the *slovotytlo* position (superscript abbreviation), which can just as readily represent *-ty*.

It is impossible to judge the accuracy of the rendering of the texts because no photostats of the originals are included. It is clear, however, that Peredrijenko did not always understand them. For example, Latin *item* 'likewise', which introduces alternative medical prescriptions and appeared in Cyrillic in the original, Peredrijenko always spells as if it constituted two Slavic words: и тѣмъ His explanations also sometimes show a lack of understanding. For instance, about the text's *vozmy cukru liodovoho* 'take some crystallized sugar' (lit. ''looking like pieces of ice''; p. 28), Peredrijenko explains: ''Probably it should be: *miodovoho* '' ('honey [sugar]'; Does anyone make sugar from honey?). In reference to the passage *užyva(t) rostropsty, prydavšy ly(s)tkov bukvycî y šku(r)ky pomara(n)čovoj, mîsto txe* 'use celandine, adding leaves of betony and orange peel, instead of tea' (p. 68), Peredrijenko comments about the last word: ''Perhaps a scribal error instead of *tee* '' [which means ''this''].

Peredrijenko's ''Glossary of hard-to-understand words'' (in the Cyrillic and Polish Latin scripts) indicates that many Middle Ukrainian, Polish, and Latin words are difficult to understand for Soviet Ukrainians, even if they are philologists. Here are some examples (with spelling and punctuation adjusted in textual quotations).

Given first for each item are (a) Peredrijenko's entry with page number and context, followed by (b) my explanation of its meaning, and then (c) the explanation that Peredrijenko gives.

1. (a) *ve(n)dneio* (73) (b) 'they wilt away' (Pol. *więdnieją*) (c) "together, simultaneously"

2. (a) *verxolky*—vozmy kvîtu abo verxolkov" centuriy (49) (b) 'tops' (Pol. *wierzcholi*) ('take some flowers or tops of daisies') (c) "flowers"

3. (a) *vjut('')ka*—vyna albo vjut('')ky horjuvky do ust('') vlîj (103) (b) 'vodka' ('pour some wine or vodka whiskey, into the mouth') (c) "twig" (*vitka*)

4. (a) *halun''* (see the example under *szklącysja*) (b) 'alum' (Pol. *ałun*) (c) "acid"

5. (a) *humory*—yx" to tečenie uvolnjae o(t) velykyx" y zlyx" humoro(v) abo xorob" (68) (b) 'humors' ('this leakage [from the ears] frees them from big and bad humors or diseases') (c) "diseases"

6. (a) *dzyvanna*—naklady zelija dzyvanny naverx"; with a superscript *lyvan''dy* (30) (b) 'mullein' (Pol. *dziewanna*) ('put some mullein herb atop'; with a superscript 'lavender') (c) "lavender"

7. (a) *in''gradyencye*—ocet" rutjanij ljubo inij z roznymy in('')gradye(n)ciamy (74) (b) 'ingredients' ('rue, or another vinegar with various ingredients') (c) "admixtures"

8. (a) *katarh*—katarh holovy (18) (b) 'catarrh' ('head catarrh') (c) "ache"

9. (a) *konsystencija*—vozmy soku z('') svižyx" rîp" (. . .), smaž" do ko(n)syste(n)ciy, to e(st) do potreby (52) (b) '(thick) consistency' ('Take some juice from fresh turnips . . ., fry this to a [thick] consistency, that is according to the need') (c) "need"

10. (a) *ljukrecija*—z('') k('')orenja ljukreciy; with a superscript *solodkovoho* (72) (b) 'licorice' (Pol. *lukrecja*) ('from the root of licorice'; with a superscript 'sweet') (c) "sweet"

11. (a) *malîgna*—davaj na raz" po po(l'') dragmy . . . A ežely malîgna byla, prydaj komfory (20) (b) 'malignant fever' (Pol. *maligna*; from Latin) ('give half a dram at a time. . . . And if there was a malignant fever, add some camphor') (c) "little" (*malo*)

12. (a) *parce*—parce v bokax" (18) (b) 'pressure' (Pol. *parcie*) ('pressure in the sides') (c) "scabs" (*parši*)

13. (a) *pokarm''*—zmišaj z poka(r)mom ženskym" (57) (b) 'mother's milk' (Pol. *pokarm*) ('mix with woman's milk') (c) "milk"

14. (a) *rynka*—v ry(n)ku abo v('') pano(v)ku (29) (b) 'deep skillet' (Pol. *rynka*; from German) ('into a deep skillet or pan') (c) "frying pan"

15. (a) *rîn'*—rostet" toto na rînja(x) kolo rîk" (99) (b) '(coarse) sand' ('it [osier] grows on coarse sands by rivers') (c) "meadow"

16. (a) *rŷmy*—Petr('')uška . . . rŷ(m) vyhanjâe(t) (97) (b) 'rheums' ('parsley . . . eliminates rheums') (c) "worms"

17. (a) *spory* (*sporą* in the glossary)—nakraj myla brusok" sporą *[in Polish script]; with a superscript tablyčkamy hrubo* (29) (b) 'rather large" (Pol. *spory*, probably from *osełką sporą* 'a rather large bar' in the prototype) ('cut a rather large bar of

soap', with a superscript 'coarsely in slices') (c) "coarsely"
18. (a) *subtelno*—sîrky, subtelno utertoy (28) (b) 'finely' (Pol. *subtelnie*; from Latin) ('sulphur finely grated') (c) "carefully, well"
19. (a) *czaleiowy*—vozmy korînja tutjunovoho, to est czaleiowego [last three words in Latin script] (27) (b) 'cowbanes' (Pol. *szalejowy*) ('take root of tobacco or else of cowbane') (c) "of tobacco"
20. (a) *szklącysja*—(*iszklącyjsia* in the glossary) vozmy ... blejvasu, halunu palenoho, sažy, tvardy(x) i szklących [in Polish script] sja (25) (b) 'glittering like glass (Pol. *szklący się*) ('take ... some white lead, burnt alum, soot, hard and glittering like glass') (c) "hardened, petrified"

A final, lengthier example: on p. 73, the text reads "khdy satu(r)nus" tryplîkaty(s) ignea sygna ariety(s) kaprykornî v sagittaky prexody(t)," which means (after the necessary corrections to *sagittarii, tryplîkatus*) 'when a triple Saturn passes through the fiery sign of Aries, Capricorn, and Sagittarius'. Apparently baffled by this macaronic, Ruthenian-Latin phrase, Peredrijenko isolates a part of it in his glossary, and translates it as "a lasting triple sign of temperature which occurs in goats!"

From these examples one can deduce the methodology of Peredrijenko's philological work: he makes correlations from unrelated, coincidental, and remote similarities (*vendneio*—Ukr. dialectal *zajedno* 'together', *vjutka* - *vitka, malîgna* - *malo, parce* - *parši, rŷmy* - Ukr. dialectal *robaky* 'worms') and guesses from the context (*in''gradyencye, katarh, pokarm, rîn', subtelno*) instead of consulting appropriate dictionaries. He assumes that expressions following an "or" and "that is" are synonyms. He accepts superscript words that may well reflect errors made by eighteenth-century readers as accurate explanations. His "Glossary" often provides only a generic word or phrase as definition rather than the specific one (e.g., *bazylyka* 'basilic vein'—"a vein in the arm"; *bîbula* 'blotting paper'—"a sort of paper"; *hvozdyky* 'cloves'—"a plant"; *lebîdka* 'oregano'—"a grass"; *medyjana* 'median vein'—"a vein in the arm"; *sepxalîka* 'cephalic vein'—"a vein in the arm"; *smorodjun* 'ferula'—" a grass"). His scientific knowledge is as questionable as his knowledge of the humanities, since he allows himself to refer to alum as acid.

A broader conclusion can be drawn. Eighteenth-century Ukrainians who adapted practical guides from Polish sources were still part of Central European civilization and as such were familiar with Polish and some Latin and German. Present-day Soviet Ukrainians who read these texts are not. In this sense they have become strangers to their past.

Philologists can benefit from Peredrijenko's textological information and rendering of the eighteenth-century Ukrainian texts if they read them cautiously, but they must be advised to treat his linguistic explanations with caution.

Bohdan A. Struminsky
Harvard University

ICE-AGE HUNTERS OF THE UKRAINE. By *Richard G. Klein.* Edited by *Karl W. Butzer* and *Leslie G. Freeman.* Prehistoric Archaeology and Ecology Series. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1973. 140 pp. Illus., maps, tables. $12.50 cloth, $4.50 paper.

Western anthropologists rarely have the opportunity to research in Eastern Europe. Few of them know East European languages. Richard Klein is an exception to the rule. Helped by his knowledge of Russian he has presented us with immensely important information on spectacular Ice-Age sites in the Ukraine. He has done a great service in broadening our concept of Middle and Upper Paleolithic cultural variability. No longer do we have to consider the French Paleolithic, or any Western locality, as a prototypical model. The Ukrainian sites are rich in artifacts, "ruins," and art, and they extend our knowledge of the varieties of human adaptations during the last 70,000 years.

The earliest undisputed evidence for human occupation occurred during the Riss-Wurm Interglacial, approximately 100,000 to 75,000 years ago, at the site of Khotulove (Khotylevo) on the Desna River terrace. This was a time when broad-leafed forests spread across northern Ukraine, and forest-steppe prevailed in the south. There was no steppe during the Last Interglacial. The artifacts from Khotulove, over 90,000 pieces, are assigned to the Middle Paleolithic, or eastern, variant of the Mousterian culture associated with *Homo sapiens neanderthalensis* in Western Europe.

More sites in the Ukraine have been discovered that date to the Last Glaciation (Wurm), which began around 75,000 years ago and ended around 10,000 B.P. (before the present). During this time the glaciers in northern Eurasia advanced and retreated several times. In the Ukraine the climate varied from cold, dry steppe with dwarf shrubs and permafrost to temperate forest-steppe. During the early Wurm it is assumed that *Homo sapiens neanderthalensis* lived in the Ukraine. (Skeletal evidence of this subspecies has been found only in the Asian sector of the USSR.) From the Middle Wurm, the fragmentary skeletal remains indicate that anatomically modern *Homo sapiens* (*Cro-Magnon*) lived in the Ukraine.

The Middle Paleolithic sites in the Ukraine are spectacular for their mammoth bone "ruins or shelters" that occur nowhere else in Europe. As Klein states, "This is the clearest find to date for any kind of modification of an open air site by Mousterian peoples." At Molodove (Molodova) I-4, the mammoth bones are arranged in two ovals; the inner "wall" is 8m by 5m, and the outer "wall' is 10m by 7m. The excavator, A. P. Chernysh, suggests that the large bones of the outer wall were used as weights to hold down skins stretched over a "wooden" framework. Inside were 15 hearths, 29,000 pieces of flint, hundreds of animal bone fragments, and a spot of red ochreous pigment.

Molodove is situated on the middle Dniester River terraces, where the climate was more amenable to human occupation than in the Dnieper-Desna Basin. The animals most commonly hunted by Mousterian peoples were reindeer, horse, roe

deer, red deer, and moose; their bones were broken in ways to extract the marrow. Mammoth was probably not hunted, but scavenged.[1] Mammoth bones do not occur at "kill sites." Chemical analysis shows that mammoth bones at a given site are of a different geological age, which suggests that mammoth bones were scavenged after a kill. At the sites of Mizyn (Mezin) and Mezhyrich (Mezhirich), mammoth bones were gnawed by carnivores, presumably before they were used for construction purposes. Not all parts of the mammoth were used—primarily the skulls, jaws, shoulder blades, pelvises, and certain long bones. It was no small feat to collect these bones: a defleshed and dried mammoth skull with small tusks weighs a minimum of 220 lbs! Mammoth bones were also used as fuel during extremely cold, periglacial steppe conditions, not as decorated objects.

The material culture of the Middle Paleolithic in the Ukraine is similar to the Mousterian assemblages of Europe, Southwest Asia, and North Africa. Most of the artifacts are of unretouched flint flakes made from discoid cores. A limited number of tools were made by the Levallois technique, which prepared the core before striking the flake. Retouched flakes include scrapers, notches, and denticulates. The frequency of artifact types varies from site to site. Klein says this may reflect cultural differences, especially if sites are distanced in both time and space; or activity differences, if the sites are contemporaneous. There are over forty types of stone tools; some were used in killing and butchering animals, others for making clothing from hide and wood working. Mousterians rarely made bone or antler tools.

In the Ukraine, Upper Paleolithic sites (50,000–10,000 years ago) are much more numerous than Middle Paleolithic ones. Better preservation may be one factor, but Klein suggests there was a population increase on that territory at this time. Approximately sixty sites have been found along the Dniester and Dnieper-Desna Basins. This also suggests that the Upper Paleolithic populations were able to inhabit the Dnieper-Desna Basin more successfully than were the Middle Paleolithic peoples, despite the maximum cold of the Late Wurm of between 25,000 and 10,000 years ago, when permafrost extended south to 47–48 N latitude. The nearly permanently frozen ground that covered the Ukraine only thawed briefly near the Black Sea. Dwarf birch and alder grew above the permafrost. The Ukraine was then a periglacial steppe that has no modern counterparts. Wood was so rare that bone was used for fuel. However, the periglacial steppe did support herds of large herbivores: wooly mammoth, wooly rhinoceros, horse, bison, reindeer, musk-ox. Other animals were hunted or indicate extreme cold: arctic fox and wolf, steppe marmot, snow lemming, and snowy owl. We know that clothing was also made from the skins of arctic fox and wolf, because skeletons of these animals have been found, minus the paws. The skin was apparently removed with the paws, which have been found separately at the same site.

[1] Serhii M. Bibikov disagrees with this. In his study *Drevnejšij muzykal'nyj kompleks iz kostej mamonta,* (Kiev, 1981), he suggests that mammoth was hunted.

From the individual ages of reindeer bones found at the Mizyn site, it has been determined that mammoth bone shelters were constructed and inhabited during the late fall and winter (the lack of game birds and fish from these sites supports this idea). These structures were constructed in the comparative shelter of river valleys. Klein suggests that the Ice-Age hunters followed the migratory herd north in the summer and returned to their mammoth bone shelters in the late fall.

The material culture of the Upper Paleolithic sites shows a switch to blade technology. Blades or bladelets were struck from prismatic cores. Unlike the Mousterian tradition (which utilized mostly unretouched flakes), the Upper Paleolithic tool kit consisted mostly of retouched pieces. The most common artifacts were end scrapers and burins. There was also a high frequency of backed blades, points, borers, and shouldered points. This blade technology, while showing unique variation in the Ukraine, shares a striking commonality with Upper Paleolithic assemblages in Europe, Southwest Asia, and North Africa. Soviet archeologists are studying the artifacts for microscopic wear patterns to indicate possible function.

Along with stone tools, these people, unlike the Mousterians, made artifacts of bone, ivory, and antler. They included awls, needles, hollow-ended pegs ("shaft-straighteners"), points, antler hammers, digging tools, bone hafts, and hide burnishers. Some artifacts were decorated. The Upper Paleolithic peoples of the Ukraine displayed a burst of artistic activity rarely seen in the Mousterian. Artistic decoration consisted of carvings on bone, ivory, and antler; the pattern is unique at each site. At Mizyn, for example, mammoth mandibles and bone "bracelets" were decorated with a carved chevron or herring bone pattern, as well as angular spirals. At Eliseevichi the prevailing pattern was net-like or mesh-like. Other art objects consist of beads and pendants of marine shells and pierced teeth of arctic fox and wolf.

At Ukrainian sites, as well as other European Upper Paleolithic sites, statuettes of rotund females or linear figurines have been found ("Venus figurines"). Statuettes of birds, mammoth, and presumably phallic symbols were also carved. Pigment pits containing red or yellow ocher, presumably for body, hide, and artifact decoration, have been discovered.

The most stunning features of Upper Paleolithic sites in the Ukraine are the mammoth bone structures, found most frequently in the Dnieper-Desna Basin. They vary in size and dimensions, but all are semi-subterranean. Berdyzh is 9–10m long, 3–4m wide, and 40–50cm deep. Mezhyrich consists of 385 mammoth bones covering a circular area 4–5m in diameter. Mizyn seems to consist of five distinct structures, approximately 6m in diameter, arranged in a line. Within the structure are found hearths, often along the central axis, and artifacts in concentrated pits or presumed work areas (1m in diameter, 2m deep) which are flanked by upright mammoth bones. These "work areas" occur particularly at Avdijivka (Avdeevo), which also had peripheral pits (4-8m^2, 80–100 cm deep), believed to be sleeping chambers. Other peripheral pits were smaller and contained mammoth bone, possibly for fuel. Pits at Avdieve contained most of the sophisticated bone artifacts and art objects. The site of Kostenki is very similar to Avdieve, and Klein believes they belong to the same cultural group. There are many unique features of the Upper

Paleolithic sites in the Ukraine which Klein suggests relate to different cultural groups.

Klein presents a strong scientific and ecological approach to the study of Ukrainian Paleolithic finds. He argues correctly for a multidisciplinary approach to Ice-Age hunters that would call upon geologists, archaeologists, palaeontologists, and botanists. This is laudatory, but in the pursuit of science even the multidisciplinary approach sometimes excludes the humanist aspect of culture which our East European colleagues are willing to tackle. For example, a cluster of decorated mammoth bones at Mizyn, including "castanets" that exhibit "percussive" and "rubbed" wear patterns, is interpreted by Bibikov as percussion (musical) instruments.

Klein has done us a great service by translating and distilling the cultural, faunal, botanical, and geological data of Paleolithic life in the Ukraine. His book is accessible reading for the layman, as well as an invaluable contribution to Paleolithic archaeology. It has also inspired the writing of novelist Jean Auel, whose stories are set, quite accurately, within the material life-conditions of the East Central European and Ukrainian Upper Paleolithic.

Gloria y'Edynak
Smithsonian Institution

ZAPISKI INOSTRANTSEV KAK ISTOCHNIK PO ISTORII OSVOBODITEL'NOI VOINY UKRAINSKOGO NARODA, 1648–1654 gg. By *Iu. A. Mytsyk.* Dnipropetrovs'k. Ministerstvo vysshego i srednego spetsial'nogo obrazovaniia SSSR. Dnepropetrovskii ordena Trudovogo Krasnogo Znameni gosudarstvennyi universitet imeni 300-letiia vossoedineniia Ukrainy s Rossiei. 1985. 83 pp. 0.75 rub.

In recent years a steady stream of periodicals and booklets on source studies has issued forth from the university in Dnipropetrovs'k. Published in small editions, these publications have become instant bibliographic rarities. Many of the works—by M. P. Kovals'kyi, Iu. A. Mytsyk, and S. M. Plokhii, among others—have dealt with Ukrainian history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The booklets and short studies describe manuscripts, early modern books, or source publications. Frequently they offer little new information, but merely serve as compendiums for students new to the field. Occasionally they appear to be compilations of available materials. Contents are subject to the anachronistic absurdities of Soviet classifications. For example, nineteenth- and early twentieth-century works published in Ukrainian in the Ukrainian part of Austrian Galicia are classified as "foreign" works in Ukrainian historiography, whereas all Russian publications are "fatherland" studies. Yet whatever their limitations, the pamphlets are valuable.

Particularly in their descriptions of documents in manuscripts, the Dnipropetrovs'k studies serve to direct scholars' attention to unknown or unpublished sources.

Iurii Mytsyk's booklet on the writings of foreigners as a source to the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising is typical of the series. Unlike his earlier *Ukrainskie letopisi XVII veka* (Dnipropetrovs'k, 1978), it is not the result of extensive research on the subject. His definition of "inostrantsy" (foreigners) follows the anachronistic Soviet scheme. Works written by Polish authors—even those living in the Ukraine in the midst of the Khmel'nyts'kyi war—are described as "foreign," together with Tatar, Venetian, and French studies. The fact that the revolt took place in a Polish state does not affect this classification, according to which Russian works written in the Muscovite state are native to the Ukraine, and hence are omitted from this booklet.

Although we cannot agree with Mytsyk's classification system, we must be pleased with his discussion of some broadsides and publicistic works, memoirs, and seventeenth-century historical works and document collections. Most of the booklet contains descriptions of memoirs and histories: Bogusław Radziwiłł, Mikołaj Jemiołowski, Stanisław Wierzbowski, Alberto Vimina, Pierre Chevalier, François Pol Delaraque, Samuel Twardowski, Wespazjan Kochowski, Jan Wawrzyniec Rudawski, Samuel Grądzki, Mehmet Senai, the manuscript source compilation of Marcin Goliński, *Neue Polnische Flores*, and the "Short Anonymous Chronicle." Similar works have been dealt with in Mytsyk's articles on German works in the serial *Voprosy germanskoi istorii* (1978–) and in S. M. Plokhii's *Osvoboditel'naia voina ukrainskogo naroda 1648–1654 gg. v latinoiazychnoi istoriografii serediny XVII veka* (Dnipropetrovs'k, 1983).

It is chapter one that includes little used or unpublished materials: broadsides and documents in manuscript works. Particular attention is paid to two documents preserved in manuscript that dispute Polish policy in late 1648–early 1649: *Sententia o uspokojeniu Wojska Zaporozkiego jednego szlachcica polskiego* and *Odpowiedź na tą sententię o uspokojeniu Wojska Zaporozkiego w 1649 r.* It is indicative of Soviet scholarly practices that the titles of these two documents are given only in Russian translation. In addition, Mytsyk does not seem to know that the first, probably written by Adam Kysil, has already been published (Franciszek Rawita-Gawroński, ed., *Sprawy i rzeczy ukrainskie: Materyały do dziejów kozaczyzny i hajdamaczyzny* [Lviv, 1914], pp. 119–23).

Mytsyk also devotes considerable attention to the "Dyskurs o terazniejszej wojnie kozackiej albo chłopskiej." He mentions in a footnote that the text has been published in a "foreign publication," with no reference to *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*. Indeed, he may not have had the publication in hand, for he dates the text—which I have shown to be written between June and November 1648 ("A Contemporary's Account of the Khmel'nyts'kyi Uprising," *HUS*, 5, no. 2 [June 1981]: 245–257, p. 251)—to 1651. He misreads the phrase "te słowa godne pamięci nieśmiertelnej księcia J. M. Wiśniewieckiego" (ibid., p. 256, l. 151) to mean that Wiśniowiecki was dead (d. 20 August 1651) and misses the statement "że kandydatowie na królesawo faworu ich i wojska zaciągają, co i teraz się już dzieje"

(ibid., p. 255, ll. 125–26), which indicates that the text was written during the interregnum of 1648.

If Mytsyk's data and judgments are far from flawless, he does amass much useful information. Regrettably, scholars in the West will find it difficult to obtain his publications, just as he seems not to have access to ours. The situation now obtaining between Western and Soviet scholars in this regard does, in fact, make one look back wistfully on the free exchange of ideas that took place in the Ukraine in the seventeenth century.

Frank E. Sysyn
Harvard University

ALEXIS, TSAR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS. By *Philip Longworth.* New York: Franklin Watts, 1984. 288 pp. $18.95.

In at least one respect seventeenth-century Russians were not the last of the old Muscovites, but the first of the modern Russians: it is possible to write their biographies. To be sure, the number of reasonable subjects is limited to the highest level of the elite: the tsars, a few prominent boyars, and churchmen, including Avvakum. Tsar Aleksei is perhaps the first of Russia's rulers whose thoughts and personal deeds can (at least in some measure) be discerned behind the façade of court etiquette and traditional religious conceptions. His letters, although hardly the intimate correspondence of later times, are not the ideological set pieces of Ivan IV and Kurbskii: in this, Aleksei was typical of his age. These letters and other documents, together with the limited scholarly literature on the seventeenth century, provide sources for a biography, and Professor Longworth has taken advantage of them.

His attempt is skillful and, in most respects, successful. The graceful narrative presents a portrait of the tsar that stresses his strength as a monarch, his interest in innovation and the evolving program of his reign, namely, the self-conscious attempt to build the tsar's autocratic power. The bulk of the text covers internal developments, the rise and fall of favorites, court ceremonies, the many popular rebellions, and, finally, the style of his rule. Longworth sees that style as firm (repressive when necessary) and relatively interventionist in relation to subordinates, and yet devoted to the establishment of good order rather than mere power. Less space is devoted to foreign affairs: in particular, Aleksei's relations with Poland and the Ukraine receive only a summary after the great events of the early 1650s. This is a loss, because so much of the tsar's time and effort was taken up with these events, and they reveal his style as a ruler quite as much as any other issues he dealt with.

Longworth's contribution, however, is not just to retell the story of one tsar's reign, but to assess the role of the man Aleksei. This is a risky undertaking in regard to any of the seventeenth-century monarchs (not just the Russian tsars), whose lives

were essentially fused with their role as rulers, yet Longworth's attempt succeeds. It conveys the sense that Aleksei understood what he was doing, so that the direction in which the Russian state moved was at least in part the result of his conscious intent. Here we have no faceless movement toward absolutism, but people with ideas and projects, even if they are couched in terms somewhat strange to the modern reader.

For the historian to understand these terms fully he must have a thorough acquaintance with the culture—that is to say, the religion—of seventeenth-century Russia. In this realm Longworth moves less easily. Aleksei and his court did not form their ideas in a vacuum, relying only on a nebulous "Orthodox tradition" or a few random texts. They lived through a period of rapid change and intense debate, as has been made clear in recent decades by studies of court culture (especially the theater) and religious literature by, among others, A. N. Robinson, A. S. Eleonskaia, and A. M. Panchenko. Their work by no means solves—or even poses—all the problems, but it does throw considerable new light on the court and on the chancellery officials. Professor Longworth seems not to be fully aware of all this, with the result that his description of intellectual life at Aleksei's court is somewhat old-fashioned. Aleksei's fascination with the "West," for example, was primarily an interest in the religious and literary culture of the Ukraine and Poland, not an interest in the West or Europe in general. In this orientation towards the Ukraine, Aleksei was only a man of his age, similar to Rtishchev or the chancellery poets, but unlike them, he possessed the power necessary to spread and encourage that connection.

Longworth is clearly not entirely at home in discussing religious matters. We learn that Aleksei and the court made a pilgrimage to "Zagorsk" (as the town where the Trinity–St. Sergius Monastery was built has been known since 1930), and that Częstochowa is in Silesia. The bibliography is full of misprints, which may reflect on the publisher rather than the author. In spite of these strictures, the book does represent an important achievement. For most historians the century is an anonymous march of institutional developments or economic trends. Against this background Longworth has succeeded in bringing to the fore the question of Aleksei's personal contribution to these processes. Historians should take up this theme and amplify it, for Aleksei and other men of the time, because Professor Longworth has reopened an important subject.

Paul Bushkovitch
Yale University

WOMEN'S MONASTERIES IN UKRAINE AND BELORUSSIA TO THE PERIOD OF SUPPRESSIONS. By *Sophia Senyk*. Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 222. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1983. 235 pp.

This excellent book consists of two parts: a catalog of all women's monasteries in the Ukraine and Belorussia from the first founding of monasteries in Kiev in the eleventh century to the large-scale suppressions at the turn of the eighteenth to nineteenth century; and a study of the actual way of life in the monasteries, particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It serves, then, as both a reference work and an interpretive monograph.

The forty-two-page annotated catalog is a scholarly masterpiece which provides, through the use of chronicles, additions to Golubinskii's classic list of monasteries for the pre-Mongol period and, through the use of a vast array of published sources and documents, a definitive list of monasteries for the post-Mongol period. It corrects and supersedes information found in Ornatskii, Zverinskii, and Denisov. The catalog is arranged alphabetically according to locality, and includes information on the founding and duration of each monastery and whether it was Orthodox or Catholic; it numbers 130 definite women's monasteries and 17 doubtful ones.

The remainder of the book analyzes the social, economic, and religious reality of these monasteries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Chapters treat the founding of monasteries (i.e., procedures and types of founders), the economics of the monasteries and their regional differences, the relations of the monasteries with hierarchs and with other monasteries, the community itself (age and social background of nuns, the novitiate and profession, and the participation of laywomen), the internal organization of the monasteries, and the cultural and religious life of the nuns.

Essentially two types of monasteries emerge from this study, but the types divide territorially, rather than as Orthodox versus Catholic. The differences are, as the author points out, due to disparities in the social and cultural milieu in which the monasteries existed. The first type, the minority, were structured, well-organized monasteries which had adopted common life as a result of monastic reform in the seventeenth century, whether led by Ruts'kyi for the Uniates or by reformers among the Orthodox. Such monasteries predominated in Belorussia, particularly in the towns, and presupposed a higher level of economic and cultural development, which made familiarity with monastic literature and a deeper understanding of monastic life more feasible. The second type, more common, were loosely organized, amorphic communities. Nuns lived alone or by twos in small cottages and followed an idiorhythmic rather than a communal pattern. They fended for themselves economically, either by hiring themselves out for work in the fields, or through the production and sale of handicrafts. They bought and prepared their own meals, and the necessity of travelling to market for purchase and sale of goods undercut any attempt at enclosure. The superiors tended to concentrate on the economic interests of the monasteries and to provide little in the way of deep spiritual guidance. Many

monasteries of the second type were small and impoverished, with financial survival a constant challenge.

The suppression of the monasteries in the eighteenth century had many motivations, one of which, the author indicates, was concern for monasteries financially depressed. The Synod of Zamość in 1720 and Pope Benedict XIV in 1744 called for the closing of very small monasteries with an eye toward merging, consolidating, and strengthening the remaining ones. Quite different motivations generated the official state suppression of monasteries in the late eighteenth century. Both Joseph II of Austria and Catherine II of Russia computed the utilitarian value of the monasteries to the state, and suppressed those considered useless. Furthermore, in the areas under study other motivations involving centralizing and nationalizing tendencies were at work. In Kiev and in the Left Bank, the reform of Catherine II aimed at integrating the Ukraine into Russia more fully and eliminating any legal differences; hence in 1786 the Ukrainian church was brought under the same stringent ecclesiastical laws as had existed in Russia since 1764. In the Belorussian and Ukrainian lands that became part of the Russian Empire after the partitions of Poland, the period of suppressions began in 1795, with greater suppression of Uniate monasteries than of Orthodox ones. But the tale told here is more than one of state policy and power; it is a moving account of the tenacity of individual nuns, both Orthodox and Uniate, and the apostasy of Siemashko which resulted in the closure by 1845 of all Uniate monasteries in the Russian Empire.

Sister Sophia is to be commended for the admirable balance that she has maintained in traversing such difficult, often partisan, terrain. She is throughout a sound, serious scholar, taking careful note of the shared strengths and weaknesses of Uniate and Orthodox monasteries during this period. Her book has forged a new path in the neglected area of women's religious history, and she has set the highest standards of scholarship and analysis for others to follow.

Brenda Meehan-Waters
University of Rochester

UKRAINE AND POLAND IN DOCUMENTS, 1918–1922. Edited by *Taras Hunczak*. 2 vols. Sources for the History of Rus'-Ukraine, 12. New York, etc.: Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1983. viii, 456 pp.; 468 pp.

The value of a documentary collection depends on the significance of the material and the editor's care in presenting it to the readers. The number of published documents bearing on Ukrainian and Polish foreign relations in the early twentieth century is small. On the Ukrainian side one can mention the multivolume *Erreignisse in der Ukraine 1914–1922* edited by Theophil Hornykiewicz and some volumes of documents published in the USSR. On the Polish side there are *Dokumenty i*

materiały do historii stosunków polsko-radzieckich (a joint Polish-Soviet venture which replaced *Materiały archiwalne do historii stosunków polsko-radzieckich*, of which only volume 1 appeared), the three-volume *Sprawy polskie na konferencji pokojowej w Paryżu w 1919 r.* (the larger *Akty i dokumenty dotyczące sprawy granic Polski 1918–1919*, published on the eve of the Second World War, is very rare), and *Powstanie II Rzeczypospolitej: Wybór dokumentów 1866–1925*, edited by Halina Janowska and Tadeusz Jędruszczak, which is the most recent publication. A two-volume collection of sources bearing on Polish interwar foreign policy exists in typescript, and one can speculate about when and if it will see the light of day.

In his introduction to *Ukraine and Poland*, Taras Hunczak mentions the *Dokumenty i materiały do historii stosunków polsko-radzieckich* and describes the volume as superbly edited; the accolade is perhaps justified by the very appearance of this collection, in view of censorship problems and last-minute elimination of certain "touchy" documents. The other Polish collections Hunczak regarded as less relevant, or they simply appeared too late to be of use to him.

The documents selected and published by Hunczak come from the archives of the Józef Piłsudski Institute of America—to be more precise, from the files of the so-called Belweder Archive (or, to use its official designation, Akta Adjutantury Generalnej Naczelnego Dowództwa) for the 1918–1922 period. These materials were evacuated from Poland to Romania in 1939; after a long journey, they eventually ended up in New York. Although it sustained some losses—certain files never made their way to this country—the Belweder Archive represents one of the most important Polish collections. In order to preserve it and to make it available to a larger audience, Yale University agreed in 1969 to microfilm its entire content; the Sterling Library now possesses a copy of the microfilm (another is at the Piłsudski Institute), which comprises 29 reels. It is a pity that the editor's introductory remarks did not include an ampler characterization of the Piłsudski archives for the readers of this volume.

The first volume of *Ukraine and Poland* contains 124 documents in the first volume, and the second contains 122. The first document is a memorandum from Dr. M. Lyzyns'kyi to Piłsudski dated 15 December 1918; the last is a Polish report on the activities of Ukrainians in Tarnów on 26 October 1922. The character and nature of documents included in the two volumes is diverse. Diplomatic reports and telegrams figure side-by-side with proceedings of Polish-Ukrainian military and civilian conferences, protocols of meetings of Ukrainian representatives abroad, memoranda, declarations, and texts of political and military agreements. A good deal of the material is informative and illuminating about various aspects of the Ukrainian-Polish question. Some documents are of importance to students of Czechoslovak-Polish relations, and others hold special interest for military historians. Detailed lists of the actual strength of Ukrainian army units and the equipment they possessed—or, more often, lacked—is revealing for anyone studying the 1919 and 1920 campaigns. Of great interest are some materials on the less well-known phase of Ukrainian-Polish relations, in 1921–1922.

The choice of criteria for the selection of documents is, of course, an individual matter for each editor. This publication contains documents which I would have not considered crucial. On the other hand, Hunczak has not included a number of important documents cited in my article on Ukrainian-Polish cooperation which appeared in *Zeszyty Historyczne,* 1967, no. 12; these included letters by Wasilewski, Wołoszynowski, and Piłsudski to Paderewski. Also omitted is the letter of Petliura to Piłsudski of 17 July 1920, published in Polish translation in *Zeszyty Historyczne*, 1967, no. 8.

Several documents (mainly political and diplomatic) are reprinted, as the author indicates, from the *Dokumenty i materiały*; it is not clear whether copies of them also exist in the Piłsudski archives. Hunczak says in the introduction that "with a few exceptions" none of the documents in this volume have already been published elsewhere, but he does not identify the exceptions. One that I know of is Petliura's letter to Piłsudski of 9 August 1919 (vol. 1, pp. 237–38), which appeared in Polish translation in *Zeszyty Historyczne*, 1965, no. 8.

All this leads to the editorial aspect of Hunczak's publication. The documents contained in the two volumes are arranged in strict chronological order—those for the years 1918–1919 appear in the first, and those for 1920–1922 appear in the second. Summaries, which include the date and nature of the document and identify its number and pages, appear at the beginning of both volumes. There is no thematic table (as, for instance, in *Documents diplomatiques français*), but it would probably have been superfluous here, given the diverse subject matter. A brief explanation of the meaning of archival classifications would have been helpful. For instance, T-15, 374/T, which is the only archival reference above the title of the first document in the second volume (p. 11), refers, first, to *teka* (file) no. 15, and, second, to the number, 374, assigned to the document, with the second T standing for *tajny* (secret). By mid-1919 the system of numbering incoming documents underwent some change, so that a number designating one of the seven groups into which the acts were divided was added.

The editor has provided the reader with an index of proper names of people and geographic localities, but there is no index of the press or of important parties and political organizations. Hunczak's footnotes generally identify people and, occasionally, obscure institutions and geographic terms. It is here that the editorial work was probably most arduous and the greatest number of mistakes was likely to occur, and, indeed, did. For example, the river Dniestr (in the index) also appears in volume 1 as "Dister" and "Dniester" (p. 44; fns. 12 and 13); George MacIntosh appears also as "McIntash" and "McIntesh" (pp. 68 and 69), references totally omitted from the index. Errors also occur in individuals' given dates of birth and death: for instance, Aleksander Więckowski died in 1919, and not in 1945 (vol. 1, p. 228), and the date of birth of Wacław Jędrzejewicz is missing. Misspellings in the text and footnotes include "Wulimirski" for Sulimirski, "Glaquewski" for Głażewski, "Proskirów" for Płoskirów, and the irritating "Jósef" for Józef (Piłsudski; vol. 2, p. 7, fn. 2).

French-language documents fare particularly badly in this volume. For instance, virtually every line in Beneš's letter of 19 April 1920 (vol. 2, pp. 29–31) is replete with misspellings, only some of which occur in the original.

Editing documents is certainly no easy task. The best edited collections usually have a staff of specialists preparing the material for publication. Taras Hunczak may have lacked a professional staff, in which case errors are bound to occur.

All its technical imperfections notwithstanding, *Ukraine and Poland* must be welcomed as an important documentary source in twentieth-century history. The material selected and published by Taras Hunczak is a real contribution not only to Ukrainian and Polish, but also to general East Central European studies. One can only wish for more source publications in the field.

Piotr S. Wandycz
Yale University

SOCIAL CHANGE AND NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY UKRAINE. By *Bohdan Krawchenko.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985. 333 pp. $27.20 (Can.).

This book is perhaps the first major Western account of the impact of social change on national consciousness in twentieth-century Ukraine. Most Western studies have emphasized the conflict between the Ukrainian national leaders and the Russian authorities in Moscow, and have paid little attention to the socioeconomic context within which Ukrainian national consciousness developed. Bohdan Krawchenko, believing that the principal source of nationalism is socioeconomic in nature, sets out to examine "the effects of social and political change on the national consciousness of Ukrainian workers, peasants, the intelligentsia and political elite." His analysis focuses on three issues: (1) the formation of a socially mobilized population (Krawchenko relies on Karl Deutsch's concept of "social mobilization" as an "overall process of change which happens to substantial parts of the population in countries which are moving from traditional to modern ways of life"); (2) the specific behavior of indigenous elites aimed at the articulation of national identity; and (3) the formation of the infrastructure of national life (education, book publishing, the press) through which the elites influence a socially mobilized population. Krawchenko argues clearly about these issues through most of his five chronologically arranged chapters: the eve of the Revolution, the 1920s, the 1930s, the war years, and the postwar years.

In the Ukraine the formation of a socially mobilized population was retarded by discriminatory economic policies and exploitation on the part of Russia. Before the 1917 Revolution and for decades afterwards, the Ukraine—or "Little Russia," from the Russian perspective—was synonymous with the peasantry, because the large majority of Ukrainians were peasants while the cities were inhabited largely by

non-Ukrainians, particularly Russians. The absence of an urbanized Ukrainian population was further compounded by a policy of Russification in cultural matters. In such a milieu a strong national consciousness could not develop among Ukrainians other than the intelligentsia, who were constantly reminded of their peasant (Ukrainian) origin by the urban (Russian) environment in which they lived. Although discrimination and exploitation continued after the 1917 Revolution, the economic recovery and development of the 1920s and early 1930s rapidly changed the old population structure and Ukrainianized the cities. The formation of a large Ukrainian urban population, helped by the indigenization policy in culture and administration, gave rise to new, assertive, national aspirations. The Moscow political authorities perceived this rise of national consciousness as a dangerous centrifugal force, a threat to Russian hegemony. Moscow therefore resorted in 1933—the year of famine—to a massive purge of Ukrainian leaders and a reversal of the indigenization policy. A similar pattern of concession and repression was repeated during World War II and the immediate postwar years.

In the 1960s the large migration of Russians to the Ukraine and Moscow's assimilation policy eroded some Ukrainians' sense of national identity. But in many others, Krawchenko maintains, particularistic national aspirations were strengthened by the persistent economic exploitation and the crisis in social mobility resulting from the migration of better educated Russians into the Ukraine. In the early 1970s Moscow responded to "Ukrainian unrest" by repression: the removal of the Ukrainian party leader Shelest and his supporters, and the purge of the state and party apparatus. Krawchenko anticipates "a continued growth in national tensions," because the Russian leaders in Moscow have not redressed the socioeconomic problems that give rise to Ukrainian nationalism.

Krawchenko leaves some important issues out, however. The 1917 Revolution and the ensuing civil war, for example, were not merely a political, but a social revolution. To the Ukrainians, did these events mean simply a replacement of one set of Russian rulers for another? Did Ukrainian nationalism acquire any new characteristics after the Revolution, and, if it did, why? Did upward social mobility in the early 1930s generate only a centrifugal nationalist tendency? What impact did the stratification of Ukrainian society under Stalin have on national consciousness? One would like to know not only about the ups and downs of national consciousness, but also about its qualitative changes over the years.

These shortcomings notwithstanding, this book is a solid if less than provocative work. It should be standard reading for students of social change in twentieth-century Ukraine.

Hiroaki Kuromiya
King's College, Cambridge

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND THE JEWS, 1948–1967: A DOCUMENTED STUDY. By *Benjamin Pinkus*. New York, London, etc.: Cambridge University Press, published in association with the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Institute of Contemporary Jewry) and the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1984. xvi, 612 pp. $59.50.

Much has been written over the years on the subject of Soviet Jewry, most of it in an emotional and controversial manner. Like other Soviet nationality problems, the Jewish problem in the USSR tends to evoke strong opinions. Benjamin Pinkus is among those Western scholars who discuss these matters in an even-handed and dispassionate manner and whose findings are based on detailed documentation. His book discusses the relations between the Soviet government and the Jews during two fateful decades, starting with the most tragic period of that relationship, the years 1948–1953, known as the Black Years of Soviet Jewry, and ending with the Jewish national and Zionist revival in the USSR that came in 1967, in the wake of the Six-Day War.

In his preface Pinkus remarks that the book has been in the making for more than ten years. Its scope and mastery of details fully justify the effort. At the same time, however, one is not completely at ease with the author's subtitle describing the book as a "documented study." It is, rather, an excellently prefaced collection of documents, whose quantity and diversity is enormous. The bulk of the book consists of 173 documents, mostly from Soviet sources, representing attitudes and policies of the Soviet regime towards the Jewish minority in the USSR. They are arranged in several topical clusters and are preceded by analytical prefaces; the latter nearly comprise a book in themselves. Statistical tables, some of which were compiled by the author, present all sorts of information concerning Soviet Jews. Pinkus's extensive notes are of an almost encyclopedic nature, and he provides numerous biographical sketches of Soviet Jewish and Jewish-related Soviet personalities. The bibliography lists all that is valuable in research and scholarship on Soviet Jewry, not only for the period discussed by the book, but on Soviet Jewish history in general.

This is the first time that the scholar and interested reader of the subject are presented with such a wealth of Soviet sources in English translation. A careful examination of these materials reveals that besides official Soviet publications, mostly press and periodicals, a wide variety of other materials was used. One finds here, for example, such items as an exchange of letters between N. S. Khrushchev and Immam Ahmad, King of Yemen, published in the Egyptian Daily *Al-Ahram*, as well as a letter of Daghestani Jews to the *New York Herald Tribune*. Any type of information that could assist in the understanding of Soviet-Jewish relations has been tapped. The author used materials brought to the West by individual Jewish émigrés from the USSR, such as documentation concerning trials against Jews and early Jewish appeals to Soviet authorities concerning the question of Jewish culture and religion in the Soviet Union. Pinkus also uses and discusses Soviet literary

texts, which reveal both prevailing attitudes towards Jews and the degree of Jewish identity among various Soviet-born authors.

What are the author's conclusions on the nature of the relationship between the Soviet regime and Jews? Pinkus points to the contradictory and seemingly paradoxical nature of the Soviet-Jewish relationship. Thus, when the state of Israel was established in 1948, with the support of the USSR and other Soviet-bloc countries, a vicious anti-Jewish campaign was initiated by Stalin inside the Soviet Union. Although Soviet anti-semitism abated somewhat during the post-Stalin years, Soviet leaders could not divest themselves of their strongly nationalistic Russian attitudes and found it difficult to improve the situation of Soviet Jews. The lack of a clear-cut and consistent Soviet policy vis-à-vis Jews stems, according to the author, from the fact that Soviet nationality policies since Lenin have been characterized by both theoretical dualisms and practical contradictions. The problem of Jewish consciousness and identity, too, has been a complex one. In spite of official denials and the tendency of numerous Soviet Jews to assimilate into the surrounding society, Jewish national feelings have always existed in the USSR, although not always visibly. Pinkus divides the Jewish population into several identity groups and points to the changes within these groups.

Professor Pinkus's book, awarded the Kenneth B. Smilen Award in Sociopolitical Analysis, is highly recommended to all those interested in the Soviet nationalities scene in general and to those interested in the history and present situation of the Jews in the USSR in particular.

Shimon Redlich
Ben Gurion University of the Negev

THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE: SOME ASPECTS OF TSARIST AND SOVIET COLONIAL PRACTICES. Edited by *Michael S. Pap*. Cleveland, Ohio: Institute for Soviet and East European Studies, John Carroll University, and the Ukrainian Historical Association, 1985. 187 pp. $14.00 paper.

All collective volumes are unavoidably somewhat uneven in the quality of their contents, and the volume that Professor Pap presents to us is no exception. Among its contents are a number of valuable, and a few outstanding, contributions.

Michael Pap's introductory essay portrays the Soviet Union—and imperial Russia—as seeking world domination, and draws upon the works of observers of Russian affairs beginning with the Marquis de Custine. Lubomyr Wynar's essay on Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi constitutes an excellent summation of the years of research Wynar has devoted to practically every aspect of Hrushevs'kyi's life and work, against the background of Soviet responses to the latter's ideas. Dennis Dunn explores the ambivalence in American policy toward Russian imperialism. The

contributions by Vitaut Kipel on Belorussia and Augustine Idzelis on the Baltic states provide useful introductions to Russian imperial and Soviet policies in these crucial western Soviet republics. The contributions by Bohdan Bociurkiw and Russel Moroziuk on religious policy and anti-religious propaganda in the Ukraine treat the religious component of Ukrainian identity and the Soviet response to it, while Roman Szporluk's essay on Soviet treatment of Ukrainian and Belorussian history rightly emphasizes historiography as the critical ideological battleground for national identity. J. B. Rudnycky's summary of his ideas on Soviet linguicide, a concept based on Soviet attempts to hamper the development of non-Russian languages, is a notion not without continued relevance, although his conclusions seem at times rather forced. Oleg Zinam's treatment of Soviet policy in Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaidzhan, and Central Asia briefly covers an extremely important series of topics which could have received much more extensive treatment.

This volume will be of interest to those who wish to become acquainted with Soviet nationality policy, while some of the contributions, especially those by Bociurkiw and Szporluk, are worthy of note by all scholars in the field.

James E. Mace
Washington, D. C.

RELIGION AND NATIONALISM IN SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN POLITICS. Edited by *Pedro Ramet*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1984. 282 pp. $35.00.

This volume contains essays that approach the topic of religion and nationalism in the USSR and Eastern Europe in different ways. Part 1 contains two analyses which compare the relationship of religion and nationalism in several countries. The essays in parts 2 and 3 focus on individual countries, except for James Critchlow's chapter on Islam and nationalism in Soviet Central Asia and Zachary T. Irwin's essay on Islam in the Balkans. Part 4 is a conclusion by the editor, who in discussing the broader issues involving religion and nationalism mentions specific countries by way of example.

In part 1, the first essay, by the volume's editor, sets the theoretical stage for the chapters that follow. Ramet provides an analytical structure for discussing religious and nationalities policies in the USSR and Eastern Europe, dividing religious groups into "suppressed," "co-opted," and "tolerated" groups, and mentioning a few "deviant cases." The second essay, by Alan Scarfe, gives an historical overview of national consciousness and Christianity in Eastern Europe.

The essays in part 2, on the Soviet Union, discuss religion and nationalism in Russia, the Ukraine, Lithuania, and Soviet Central Asia. This leaves out nearly half the Soviet republics. While the omission of Latvia and Estonia, for example, might be excused by the relative lack of connection between religion and nationalism in

those countries, the neglect of the Caucasian republics is less understandable. Georgia is discussed briefly in Ramet's introductory essay, but Armenia is left out altogether. Both these countries exhibit a strong connection between religion and nationalism that should be examined.

Dimitry Pospielovsky's essay on Neo-Slavophilism is notable for its close analysis of intellectual trends in the current religious revival in the USSR. Vasyl Markus, in his essay on the Ukraine, refines Ramet's classification of religious groups by differentiating between "preferentially treated," "relatively restricted," "excessively restricted," and "banned" groups. He also makes a useful distinction between the two "historic national" Ukrainian churches and other churches in the Ukraine.

Part 3, on Eastern Europe, contains some highly informative historical summaries, but omits East Germany and Czechoslovakia (although the latter is mentioned several times in part 1). Especially illuminating is Zachary Irwin's comparative discussion of state policy towards Islam in Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, and Yugoslavia.

In the conclusion, part 4, Ramet explores a wide range of topics in the light of the preceding essays, including the nature of religion and its relation to nationalism, Marxism, and Marxism-Leninism; the respective natures of Catholicism and Orthodoxy; the social and political role of religion; and conflicts between church and state.

Neither the individual essays nor the book as a whole have a bibliography, although the copious endnotes to each chapter provide many sources. Brief information about the contributors and an eight-page index complete the volume.

This volume serves two principal purposes. First, it examines the theoretical triangle of religion, nationalism, and political ideology (particularly Marxism). Second, it presents a wealth of information about the churches of the USSR and Eastern Europe in their relations with nations and communist states. These relationships take a variety of forms. For example, states use churches as tools of foreign policy or as means of manipulating nationalism; churches use nationalism to secure their survival within states. Nearly always, the relationship between religion and nationalism is a close one—as in the case of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches and of Catholicism in Lithuania—but there are exceptions, like Albania. Indeed, the variations in the interplay between religion and nationalism in the USSR and Eastern Europe seem endless.

This collection of essays leads one to conclude that the relationships among religion, church, nationalism and state are highly flexible, characterized by cooperation or conflict according to the times and circumstances. As supreme, absolute, and therefore competing values, religion and nationalism may be ultimately incompatible. Politics is not concerned with the ultimate, however, but with the immediate and the concrete. In the context of Soviet and East European politics, religion and nationalism have proved a powerful mix. As both theoretical exploration and historical compilation, this book clarifies their roles.

Andrew Sorokowski
Keston College

LIFE SENTENCE: MEMOIRS OF A UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONER. By *Danylo Shumuk*. Translated by *Ivan Jaworsky* and *Halya Kowalska*. Edited by *Ivan Jaworsky*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1984. 401 pp. $14.95 (Can.).

Danylo Shumuk holds the distinction of having spent more years in prisons and labor camps than any other Soviet political prisoner. It is ironic to recall, however, that before the Soviet regime began to take notice of him, he first spent over five years in Polish prisons in the 1930s as a result of his underground communist activity. Two years later he was among the hundreds of thousands of Soviet soldiers captured in the Ukraine by the invading Germans. He managed to escape from a prisoner-of-war camp, and it was during his months of hiding and wandering in the Ukraine that he abandoned the communist faith. "Passing village after village as I made my way by foot westward, through the oblasts of Poltava, Kiev, and Zhitomyr, I learned from the villagers about the unbelievable horrors they had suffered between 1933 and 1937. The ruins of villages whose inhabitants had died during the artificially imposed famine and the terrible stories which I heard from the survivors of this tragedy now fully opened my eyes and cleared my mind of the opium of communist ideology."

He became a convinced and principled Ukrainian nationalist, joining the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in March 1943 as a political instructor. Two years later the Soviet NKVD caught up with him. He expected to be shot, but his sentence was commuted to twenty years. He was not released until August 1956, during the Khrushchev "thaw," when untold millions of Stalin's prisoners were allowed to return home. But Shumuk did not have long to enjoy his freedom. He was rearrested a year later, charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." He had probably been denounced by a neighbor who did not appreciate how he explained his disillusion with communism. But the real reason behind his arrest was the regime's desire to make him a KGB informer. When Shumuk could not be intimidated, he was sentenced to ten years of imprisonment—a sentence he served in its entirety.

This was not the end of his martyrdom. He had begun writing his memoirs in the 1960s, hoping to share his experiences and explain how he remained true to himself and his principles through decades of political activity, war, and imprisonment. The regime learned of his memoirs and confiscated his manuscripts. Shumuk managed, nonetheless, to complete several long sections, and this book, which covers most of his life until the late 1960s, circulated in *samizdat* and reached the West. The regime, once again, arrested him in January 1972, as part of a general crackdown on Ukrainian dissent. Shumuk was given fifteen years of imprisonment and internal exile, in spite of his age (he was born in 1914) and his previous terms of incarceration. It remains to be seen if he will survive this term and what will happen to him then.

Shumuk seems to have known from an early age that he would not enjoy ordinary happiness. An unwanted child in a large peasant family, he was treated harshly at home and came to sympathize with others "who had been wronged in some way." "At the age of twelve," he claims, "I began to prepare myself spiritually for . . . a life of torment and suffering. It was even sweet to think about suffering for the truth."

Whether or not Shumuk actually felt this way as a youngster, there is no mistaking the martyr's complex he adopted as a badge of honor. Whether in the communist underground, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, or in Soviet prisons, Shumuk—mostly out of principle, but also out of some deep personal need—never adopted the discreet manner which might have spared him some of the reprisals he was always so prepared to accept.

Two parts of *Life Sentence* seem especially important to me. Shumuk joined the Ukrainian Insurgent Army at a time when the Nazis were occupying most of the Ukraine and the army had to fight both German and Soviet forces. Shumuk writes frankly about this experience, not sparing us from the sordid behavior of his colleagues that he witnessed. "Life in the underground was nasty and brutish, with suspicion and death walking hand in hand." He knew their cause was doomed, but he saw no choice but to remain in the UPA.

He spent the next eleven years in Soviet prisons and labor camps, mostly in the Far North, in the enormous Norilsk complex of industrial works and mines. It was in 1953 that he participated in the famous prisoners' strike at Norilsk that lasted for two months. Here, too, Shumuk maintained a principled position against lies and needless violence, helping to restrain the prisoners from murderous revenge and trying to reach an agreement with Soviet officials. I found this account too self-assured, at times almost self-congratulatory, about the effect of Shumuk's "self-help committee" on the behavior of the prisoners. His memoir, nonetheless, adds significant information to earlier accounts of the Norilsk revolt.

Shumuk's years at liberty in the 1960s may have given him some reason to hope. A new generation had matured after the horrors of Stalinism and the war, one with more education and more political maturity. Many of these activists, like Ivan Dziuba, Nadia Svitlychna, and Viacheslav Chornovil, established contact with human rights activists in Moscow and tried to nurture opposition to the Kremlin based on greater tolerance and the rule of law. These are the principles of Danylo Shumuk's life. One hopes there will be others, in the Ukraine and throughout the Soviet Union, who will carry them on.

Joshua Rubenstein
Amnesty International, USA